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**Sacred Place:  
Contextualizing Non-Urban Cult Sites and Sacred  
Monuments in the Landscape of Lusitania from the 1<sup>st</sup>  
to 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD**

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Volume I

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**Statement of Originality:**

This thesis has been composed by the candidate, the work is the candidate's own and the work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

Signed:

Elizabeth Richert

2012

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## **Abstract**

This thesis is a study of the religious life of the rural inhabitants of one peripheral Roman province, Lusitania. From archaeological, epigraphic and literary evidence it uncovers a wide array of cult spaces and monuments. These range from sacred springs, mountain shrines, rock inscriptions and sanctuaries, to temples, votive deposits, and clusters of altars. Together, they pertain to the countryside environment and date to between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD: a period when the Romans were securely established in this corner of the Iberian Peninsula. The aim of this thesis is to contextualize these cult spaces and monuments by grounding them within the broader historical evolutions of the period, as well as the natural and man-made landscape of which they were a part.

More specifically, this work sheds light on certain important patterns in rural Lusitanian worship. Chief among these are the observations that this worship was primarily small scale and private in nature, intimately associated with idealized natural settings, yet indivisible from the rural territorial infrastructure of its day. Rural cult spaces were not immune to historical developments affecting the province. The 1<sup>st</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> century sacred rural landscape differed profoundly from that of the preceding, and following, periods. Finally, it is shown that the cult spaces and monuments in question, as well as the dedications and votive offerings associated with them, were incredibly varied. Their differences reflect a deep cultural rift between the northern and southern halves of this province. These assorted findings do not together furnish one cohesive picture of ‘rural religion’ as a single phenomenon divisible from ‘urban religion’ and homogenous throughout the province. Instead, the patchwork they create reiterates the diversity and varying levels of cultural interaction that existed throughout this provincial countryside.

## I. Introduction

A sign at the entrance to the town of Jarilla informs visitors of a hiking trail that leads up the mountain behind it, called the Collado de Piedras Labradas (part of the Montes de Tras la Sierra, Cáceres). This so-called ‘hill of worked stones’ undoubtedly gets its name from the place where this path leads: a north-west facing plateau, 1038 meters above sea level, on which the remains of a Roman period aedicula are still visible (fig.1.1). The inaccessibility of this location has meant that it has never been excavated.<sup>1</sup> However, this same remoteness is also the reason that the site has only been pillaged for reuse on a very limited scale. Structural remains still apparent here include the first layer of ashlar belonging to a small, simple rectangular-plan temple with cella and no pronaos. Numerous other blocks from the same structure lie round about (C.1.11).<sup>2</sup>

Besides the temple ashlar, a collection of thirty-four whole and fragmentary altars were found at the site and nearby. Unfortunately, hardly any of these possess remnants of an inscription, and few dedicator or deity names can be reliably deciphered from these. A goddess simply denominated Dea was venerated on the least equivocal of the altars; a small handful of other inscriptions may have been dedicated to an otherwise unattested god, termed Arus (dative, Aro), yet their poor state of preservation calls for caution.<sup>3</sup> The remaining, anepigraphic, altars were

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<sup>1</sup> No full-scale excavation has ever taken place here. Existing studies devoted to the site are: Sayans (1957) (studied the site’s surface remains and a number of votive altars which he found in the vicinity); Alvarado et al. (1998) (recorded the results of an analysis of the structural remains of the temple, but did not record any other surface finds or propose a chronology for the site); Rio-Miranda and Iglesias (2004:no.350) (recorded a new votive altar as well as certain late Republican-early Imperial period artefacts next to a spring circa 230 m away); Rio-Miranda and Iglesias (2007) (revised and put forth new readings for three altars from the site, one of which was previously inedited); Rio-Miranda (2010) (analysed certain epigraphic pieces and provided a synopsis of the temple site).

<sup>2</sup> All references to this thesis’ catalogue in Appendix I will appear like this (e.g. C.1.11 = Catalogue number 1.11). See Map 1 at the end of this volume for the locations of all of the sites from this catalogue.

<sup>3</sup> The first altar reads: Deae s(acrum) / Allivs / Agathas / v(otvm) s(olvit) l(ibens) a(nimo) (FE 2004, 350). Rio-Miranda and Olivares primarily argued that ‘Aro’ was a dedicator’s name, comparing it to a similar anthroponym from Yecla da Yeltes (Salamanca) (2007). However, in a further study and reanalysis of a few of the poorly preserved altars, Rio-Miranda has argued that ‘Aro’ was a deity name, in the dative (2010:200-204). The condition of the altars advises caution on either of these interpretations, though, and I have chosen not to include ‘Aro’ as a known deity-name in Appendix IV of this thesis for this reason. One final altar was interpreted by Sayans (1957:215-217, no.5; followed by CPILC 318) as a dedication to Caesar, and recently by Rio-Miranda as a dedication to a deity called Caepai (2010:199-201, no.116). However, considering the order of the words in the inscription, the most satisfactory reading of this altar remains that put forth by Alvarado et al. (1998:8) which identifies no deity name and considers Caepai as the dedicator’s filiation: Sever[vs] / Caepai [f(ilius)]



perhaps painted, although remnants of inscriptions on a few of these prove that some were inscribed. Two millennia of being subjected to the elements have worn away most of their original texts.



Fig.1.1: The remains of the temple of Piedras Labradas, Cáceres (photo courtesy of J.Rio-Miranda Alcón)

Though these records of worship are time-worn and no longer visibly signify devotion, if we look beyond the epigraphic record that so often forms the basis of studies of ancient religion in the area, to the natural and man-made topography, there is more that can be elucidated. The Jarilla temple is located on a lush, forested mountain that brims with natural springs<sup>4</sup>; in fact, various springs are situated in the vicinity of the temple (Rio-Miranda and Iglesias 2004:no.350). This idyllic location was presumably considered sacred ground and may explain why the worshippers took such an effort to reach this lofty position and adorn it with cumbersome stones.<sup>5</sup> However, the temple also fits into the rural territory around the *civitas* capital of

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/ Caes[ivs] / v(otvm) s(olvit) l(ibens) a(nimo) (Alvarado et al. 1998:8). Caes[ivs] is preferable to Caes[ari], especially as Caesius/-a is well evidenced in the *conventus Emeritensis* (10 cognomen, 3 nomen), with a predominance in the eastern region of the *conventus* of which this site is a part (Navarro and Ramírez 2003:126-127).

<sup>4</sup> The military map for this region of the Montes Tras la Sierra shows a large number of interspersed ‘manantiales’ and ‘fuentes’ (springs) (MTN25, 575-IV, Casas del Monte).

<sup>5</sup> Most assessments of this site highlight its natural aspect. Alvarado et al. call it an indigenous sanctuary venerating a divinity of the forces of nature (1998:7).

Capera (Cáparra, Cáceres). Along with a series of other small putative temples and cult spaces, it was positioned within view of an important Roman arterial road that bisected the civitas, and may also mark the border of the arable land around Capera.

Even with limited information available – in this case, no excavation has been conducted and the epigraphic testaments are all but mute – this brief example demonstrates that we can obtain detailed and profitable insight into a rural cult site by situating it within its natural and man-made environments. The hypotheses born out of a focus on either environment are not, it should be emphasized, mutually exclusive: this cult site could mark out a natural point of sacred significance and be pertinent to the local civitas geography and territorial boundaries. It is equally important that explanations of rural cult sites do not neglect the temporal dimension. For instance, I will argue, in chapter two, that the Jarilla temple may have come into existence in the same period that saw the extensive monumentalization of the civitas capital of Capera. In this and other cases, adopting a firm focus on chronology helps to underscore rural-to-urban connectedness and fluctuations within the religious landscape of the province.

This example highlights a central aim of this thesis: to get at the heart of cult activity of the rural environment by fully contextualizing it in time and space. Studies of religion and cult practices of Roman Lusitania focus primarily on epigraphic testaments.<sup>6</sup> Such scholarly work, which addresses deities and dedicators recorded on these inscriptions, makes little effort to connect the inscriptions to the precise Roman period man-made or natural landscape. It is, however, the contention of this thesis that contextualizing cult will offer a new lens to understanding the rural sphere of this Roman province.

Therefore, evidence of cult that is either in situ, or that has a known or highly probable find-spot, will form the primary focus of this thesis (see section d below, Appendix I and Map 1). From this dataset I will broadly examine and problematize the nature of rural worship in this western Roman province during the first four centuries of the Imperial period. A detailed appraisal of the chronologies of the cult

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<sup>6</sup> This prioritization of votive inscriptions in the study of religion of western Hispania has also been pointed out by Dr. Schattner of the German Archaeological Institute, Madrid. A research project that he is conducting has excavated a small number of ‘indigenous’ sanctuaries of this half of the Iberian Peninsula, in an attempt to rebalance this focus (see more in this chapter, section e).

sites will allow me to question, first, whether this worship was a continuation of pre-Roman practice and, second, whether certain key moments in the Imperial period resulted in change in the rural religious topography. By viewing evidence of cult in its natural context, I will seek to determine what the locations of cult sites of the rural sphere reveal about specific areas of perceived sacredness in the landscape of this region. In turn, through positioning rural cult spaces within the physical space of their respective civitates, I will question the extent to which the urban sphere influenced expressions of religion within its associated territory. I will also explore which other areas of the man-made infrastructure were most frequently utilized as cult space and analyse what this reveals about the division of profane and sacred space. Moreover, I will examine the extent, and possible meanings, of similarities and differences in the appearance of cult throughout the province.

The format and questions of this dissertation are predicated on linking evidence of cult activity to the topography of rural Lusitania. Yet, this is not the only aim of this thesis. I will also seek to determine certain important particulars about the cult activity that was practiced within rural Lusitania: namely, who, and how, these rural inhabitants worshipped. This will be achieved by analysing the extensive collection of deities named on urban and rural inscriptions as well as the votive offerings found throughout the Lusitanian countryside. Taken together, these dual aims – to contextualize cult and determine its particulars – will help to underscore the character of rural religiosity in this province in order that it might be viewed in light of, and in a dialogue with, the more thoroughly studied evidence of Roman period urban religion in Lusitania. In other words, it is my aim to rebalance a focus that has been heavily weighted towards the urban realm so that the two environments will form a clearer picture of religion across the whole of the province, and of how it adapted and evolved in light of the Roman presence. However, in focusing on the rural sphere, it is not my intention to suggest that the two realms were mutually exclusive. Material evidence of religion from the rural sphere is proof of interaction, not only throughout the countryside, but also between the country and the city. City dwellers owned property in, travelled through, and no doubt worshipped in, the countryside, just as country folk would have frequented city temples.

Archaeological evidence and epigraphy will be the two primary sources used to explore and elucidate rural Lusitanian religion. As will be discussed below, both types of evidence are far more fruitful than the paltry collection of ancient sources that make reference to religion or religious architecture of this province. Nevertheless, this is not to give the impression that any of the sources is complete. It must continuously be acknowledged that rural surveys and excavations, which record material relating to ancient worship or excavations of rural cult sites from this region, are not plentiful. Indeed, significant disparity exists between the quality and quantity of the material evidence and the recording of the various sites in question. Comparisons between sites and across regions must always, therefore, be tempered by the state of the available evidence.

### **a) Division of Chapters**

The topics and research questions noted above will be developed over three broad sections of this thesis: Part 1) continuity and change; Part 2) interaction; Part 3) devotion. The first section, continuity and change, comprises one chapter. This aims to move beyond a flat map of the temples and shrines of Lusitania by analysing cult spaces within their appropriate chronological context, and exploring whether they ‘continued’ and to what extent they ‘changed’ over time. Clearly, this is a task fraught with problems, especially considering that reliable and current archaeological material on this subject is not plentiful. Moreover, private, small-scale, and often nature-based cult places were characteristic of the region, none of which are easy to pin-point in time. For this reason, rather than viewing the rural cult sites’ chronologies in isolation, this chapter will position these into the wider historical dynamics of the region. In short, the rural temples and shrines themselves will be analysed with respect to the broader *civitas* and provincial chronology, and in respect to certain important periods in the history of the area. This, in turn, has interesting implications for the degree to which the countryside felt and responded to movement within the *civitas* capitals.

The brief title of the second section, interaction, can be expanded to: ‘interaction between rural cult places and the natural and man-made landscape.’ This section is divided into two chapters. The first focuses on interaction with the natural

topography. It starts with the idea that as a little-regulated entity, not constrained to a civic plan, rural cultic expression was able to take advantage of points of special sacred significance within the landscape. Therefore, reading a map of these cult sites is one way to unpack and underscore the local and regional mythology of the land. The second chapter is the necessary counterbalance to this. It demonstrates that the countryside was not isolated, and that its cult sites also interacted in many ways with the constructed landscape of the civitates: their towns, villages and villae, borders, roadways, and industrial installations. Also, this chapter critically assesses the role played by urban officials in stimulating sanctuaries of the countryside.

The final sub-section, devotion, includes two chapters on deities and votive offerings, respectively. The first analyses the old maxim of ‘indigenous gods of the country’ as opposed to ‘Classical gods of the city’. A large corpus of votive dedications from Lusitania is assessed to find out how urban and rural environments differ in the gods worshipped in each. Many important tendencies are teased out of this and analysed. These show that the rural religious landscape was evolving and susceptible to religious trends. The patterning of gods worshipped gives us a valuable barometer of regional and town-to-country interaction and interconnectedness.

The last chapter investigates the rather sparse, but often unique and varied, gifts that the Lusitanians offered to their gods. I chose to explore votive offerings in this chapter, rather than the architecture of the physical temples and shrines of the countryside, for two reasons. Firstly, the cult spaces of rural Lusitania often lack extant or excavated cult edifices, while many have some form of offerings (primarily votive altars). Secondly, the gifts dedicated to the gods shed light on local traditions, regional trends, peculiarities of specific groups of worshippers, and types of ritual activity. Those cultic structures that have been recorded in the Lusitanian countryside will, nevertheless, be referred to often throughout this thesis.

## **b) Period of study**

This examination of countryside cult will focus primarily on the Roman Imperial period (from the 1<sup>st</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> century AD). The region that would become Lusitania was conquered in a gradual fashion between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and mid-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC. This period of conquest has been omitted from this thesis’ catalogue because it

pertains to a very tumultuous period in this region's history when there is little evidence of the construction of religious structures. Moreover, it was not until the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC reforms of Augustus that this area became reorganized into the province of Lusitania. With the relative peace that ensued, new and adapted cult sites became visible in the archaeological record: these will form the core of this work. The changes that accompanied the 4<sup>th</sup> century state-sponsorship of Christianity fall outside the focus of this thesis as well, although these, like the Republican material, will be referred to for comparison, and to establish broader historical developments (see chapter two).<sup>7</sup>

### **c) The area of focus, its geography and people**

This study concentrates on the Roman province of Lusitania, located in the western half of the Iberian Peninsula (see Map 1). As the parameters of the ancient province fall into two modern countries, Spain and Portugal, it has often been divided in studies which focus on either 'western' (Portuguese) or 'eastern' (Spanish) Lusitania. This artificial division is an obstacle to a synthesized understanding of the province as it existed in the Roman period (Salinas de Frías 1993:15). Focusing on the whole province, by contrast, facilitates comparison of the internal regions and allows assessment of the province as a functioning unit. However, some amount of specificity is lost with such a broad focus; thus, this study should be seen to complement others that adopt a more detailed view of specific regions within the broader area, or that focus on the territories of certain ethnic groups therein.

Within the ancient boundaries of Lusitania, the topography is truly varied; this reality unquestionably affected the character of local and regional societies and their religiosity. The only singular defining feature of the provincial geography as a whole is its vast coast-line. In ancient times this was the edge of the known world: *finis terrae*. Moving inland from the coast reveals a diverse and varied topography. This landscape is epitomized by areas of distinctive landforms, creating a number of unique environments.

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<sup>7</sup> For a complementary study of late antique, rural cult structures in Lusitania and Gallaecia, see López and Bango (2005-6).

Generally speaking, Lusitania is divided into two by the course of the Tagus (Tejo/Tajo River). The lands south of this river are today the modern Algarve, Alentejo, and Estremadura districts of Portugal, and the Spanish territories of southern Cáceres and northern Badajoz. In the Roman period, this area roughly comprised the territory of the *conventus Pacensis*, on the Portuguese side, and the southern part of the *conventus Emeritensis*, on the Spanish side (Map 1). This southern half of Lusitania is for the most part a plains landscape of gently undulating hills and tablelands. A cordon of low mountains delineates the Algarve coastal region. Other low mountains, such as the Serra de São Mamede, are found in the Alentejo. In the eastern corner of the region, between the Anas (Guadiana River) and the Tagus, the Altamira, Guadalupe, Móntánchez and San Pedro mountain ranges significantly elevate the topography, extending out from the mountains of Toledo. Apart from these, the mountains do not pose a great impediment to the general habitability of the southern lands.

In the Roman period, fertile lands used for cereal cultivation existed around some of the important southern cities, such as Pax Iulia (Beja), Ebora (Évora) and the capital, Augusta Emerita (Mérida) (Edmondson 1990a:154). However, the majority of the south of the province – especially the central Alentejo – would have had little access to water and so was historically better suited to animal husbandry. Imperial period villas, common to southern Lusitania, were clustered around the larger urban centres and the southern coastal region (Gorges 1990a:98). Garum was an important commodity, produced in some villas, as well as in the non-villa rural landscapes and cities along the south coast of Lusitania and its western promontory, where amphorae for garum and cetariae (fish-salting tanks) are well evidenced (Edmondson 1990b:123-147). Mining operations were carried out along the Iberian Pyrites Belt that bore valuable copper and silver resources (Edmondson 1987:25-99, 208-221). Intensive quarrying of marble was characteristic of the north-east of the *conventus Pacensis*, in the Vila Viçosa, Borba, Pardais, and Estremoz regions. Such resources, coupled with the agreeable climate enjoyed by southern Lusitania, and its access to

the Mediterranean, resulted in a long history of foreign interaction and colonization of these lands that far preceded the Roman presence.<sup>8</sup>

The northern half of Lusitania varied significantly from the south in its topography and levels of urbanization. However, we should not assume homogeneity per region. The north exhibited distinctive sub-regions: the western sector of Spanish Meseta (tablelands), the coastal plains, and the highlands. The land which falls into the Meseta equates to the Spanish territories of northern Cáceres, Salamanca, western Toledo and Ávila, and the south-west corner of Zamora. Being so situated, it is part of a raised plain or tableland, tilted in a declining slope westward. The Sierra de Gredos, Peña de Francia and Sierra de Gata, an extension of the Cordillera Carpetovetónica (Sistema Central), traverse it in an east-west orientation across the south of the province of Salamanca. These fairly isolated lands were inhabited by a people whom the ancient sources call Vettones (see Álvarez 1999).<sup>9</sup> The fact that the terrain here was best suited to stock-raising and transhumance is well articulated by the prolific ‘verracos’ (boar, pig and bull) statues characteristic of these peoples. During the Roman period, settlement patterns in this region were largely predicated on the arrangement and function of mining operations which exploited the important metal resources found within the mountains of this region (Árbol 2001).

Moving westward across the northern half of Lusitania, we come to the highlands. These were inhabited by a people whom the ancient sources term Lusitani (Strabo 3.4.3).<sup>10</sup> The mountain ranges of the Meseta continue in great tracts across their lands, eventually plummeting down towards the salty lagoons of the coastal plain of Atlantic Portugal. These serras are too numerous to list individually, though it is worth noting the Serra de Estrêla – the legendary outpost of the Lusitani in their battles with the Romans – which towers to a height of 6530 ft. Westwards is a large coastal plain that would have been narrower in Roman times. Inland from the coast, there is some rich agricultural land, sheltered by the central mountain-ranges and fed

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<sup>8</sup> Southern Lusitania was influenced or colonized by Phoenicians, Greeks, Tartessians (from southern Spain), Carthaginians, and Celts/Celtiberians prior to the Roman period.

<sup>9</sup> The Vettones come from the region of the modern provinces of Salamanca, Ávila and eastern Cáceres (Santos 2009:183, w/ further references).

<sup>10</sup> These peoples belonged to the region of Beira Interior (Portugal) and western Cáceres (Spain) (see, for example, Santos 2009:181-196). It is important to keep in mind, though, that the idea that this was a single and cohesive *populus* was one created by the ancient writers (Edmondson 1990a:156 and 1992-3:26-27; Santos 2009:193).



by the waters streaming down from these peaks, such as the Mondego, Vouga and Zêzere Rivers (Way 1962:305, 309ff). Another, particularly fertile patch, exists in the region between Olisipo (Lisbon) and the conventus capital at Scallabis (Santarém), which, in Roman times, was apt for agriculture and cultivation of vines and olives, and was another nucleus of many rural villae. Here, and along the important inland river routes, interaction was more intense than in the isolated highlands, and proto-urban communities developed (Edmondson 1990a:156).

In summary, it is clear, even from this cursory glimpse, that the region of Lusitania was far from homogenous in its topography, degrees of cultural interaction, or levels of urbanization. In all these respects, the south remained much more akin to neighbouring Baetica than to the northern half of the Peninsula. Likewise, many similarities existed between northern Lusitania and the north-west corner of the peninsula (NW Tarraconensis/Gallaecia), and between the region of the Vettones in eastern Lusitania and the central Meseta. Interaction within the mountainous regions was always limited in contrast to the coastal regions, the river valleys, and the agricultural plains more characteristic of the south and east-central regions. As will be discussed in the following pages, these regional differences parallel an equally varied corpus of religious manifestations.

#### **d) Definitions of cult sites and approaches to classification**

I have set out in this study to explore cult sites and religious monuments from the countryside of Lusitania (see Appendix I). By the ‘countryside’ or ‘rural sphere’ I mean all land except the central administrative town of each civitas. Thus, evidence relating to vici and pagi will be included (Curchin 1985; Fernandes et al. 2006:169-173).<sup>11</sup> Any town whose location in the terrain is either generally agreed upon or confirmed, whether municipium, colonia or non-Roman status town, will constitute what I term the ‘urban’ sphere regardless of its size (see Map 1). In short, this thesis concerns the territoria of the civitates.

Within this realm, a heterogeneous collection of Roman period cult sites and religious monuments was erected. Studies that deal with religion of Lusitania tend to

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<sup>11</sup> Vici are primarily evidenced by epigraphic testaments found in the area of the conventus Emeritensis, especially in the areas of Beira Interior, and the province of Cáceres (Fernandes et al. 2006:177). See more on vicus cult in chapter four, section c.1.

use the term sanctuary quite loosely, giving an impression of a landscape dotted with temples, shrines or other cult sites which the evidence cannot support.<sup>12</sup> Rather, little hints, such as votive inscriptions to sacred waters in areas of numerous sulfurous springs, only suggest, but cannot prove, a rich sacred landscape. It is for this reason – scant verifiable evidence but an abundance of ‘hints’ – that it was necessary to attach a ‘possible’ section to this thesis’ catalogue of rural cult sites (Appendix I, part 2).<sup>13</sup> The fact that this ‘possible’ section has grown to the detriment of the more secure sites has at least two meanings. On the one hand, it is a testament to the amount of archaeology and survey work yet to be conducted in certain areas of the province (see examples below). On the other hand, it suggests that rural cult in Lusitania was often a small scale, private affair, and was only infrequently monumental. It was intimately linked to the natural landscape, and not generally an arena for acts of munificence (with a few significant exceptions). Cultic activity may also have taken place in locations which do not conform to our immediate understanding of what a ‘cult site’ ought to look like.

Taking into account the character of the sites in question, I have opted for a basic and descriptive typology for the catalogue of this thesis, not unlike a small collection of other studies of cult sites of western Hispania.<sup>14</sup> Typologies of cult sites from the Iberian Peninsula have, however, most frequently been attempted for the better evidenced eastern, ‘Iberian’, sector of the peninsula, and often focus on pre-

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<sup>12</sup> See Appendix II for attestations of cult sites that fall outside the parameters of this study or cannot be confirmed.

<sup>13</sup> Entries of the ‘possible’ section have been organized into a more concise form consisting primarily of a description, rather than arranged under the same collection of headings used for the other cult sites. This is because they often lack data for one or many of these headings. They also need a certain degree of explanation as to why they are posited to be cult sites, which is afforded by the looser descriptive entry.

<sup>14</sup> Broad-ranging studies of collections of cult sites from the ‘Celtic’ and ‘Indo-European’ regions of the peninsula –often with a pre-Roman emphasis – have been undertaken, for example, by Marco (1996) [Indoeuropean Hispania]; Almagro and Berrocal (1997) [Iberian and Celtic regions]; Benito and Grande (1992 and 2000) [west-central Iberian rock sanctuaries]; Sopeña (1995) [Celtiberia]; Alfayé (2009) [Celtic Hispania]; and another is currently being conducted by Correia Santos (PhD candidate, German Archaeological Institute, Madrid). Certain of these studies try to categorize cult sites, primarily along descriptive lines, for example: rock inscriptions in indigenous languages; rock altars with architectural remains; temples; etc. See for instance: Marco 1996:81-100; Vaz 2002:39-42 [classifies rock sanctuaries]. Occasionally, typologies that attempt to account for a chronological evolution in the appearance of certain types of sites have been attempted (Correia Santos 2010b [rock sanctuaries]).

and proto-historic sites.<sup>15</sup> Elaborate classification systems that identify cult sites by their function or situation in relationship to urban centres – e.g. extra-mural, extra-urban sanctuaries, border sanctuaries, etc. – are not especially fruitful in the context of rural Roman Lusitania because of the low quantity of material available and the small-scale, personal character of many of the sites.<sup>16</sup>

Therefore, under the ‘type’ heading in the adjoining catalogue, I have labeled each site using one, or multiple, defining features: temple; altar cluster; rock inscription; rock-cut features; rock carving; sacred natural feature (e.g. mountain); bath with votive offerings; spring with votive offerings; open air cult site; votive deposit. Besides these, I term one site (S. Miguel da Mota) a sanctuary complex, as it contains various elements including numerous altars, architectonic features which suggest temples or shrines, and probable adjunct buildings (Guerra et al. 2003) (C.1.27).

A few of these ‘type’ labels require further elucidation. The ‘rock-cut features’ refer to those stairs, basins, cavities, and drainage channels hewn out of rock-outcrops which constitute the common elements of the so-called ‘rock sanctuary’ sites (*santuarios rupestres*), ubiquitous in western Hispania (Correia Santos 2010b:148). These occasionally also include inscriptions. I have, however, kept ‘rock-cut features’ and ‘rock inscriptions’ as separate elements, as most of the rock inscription sites from Lusitania do not also include rock-cut features. It should similarly be noted that the elements highlighted above, thought to pertain to rock sanctuaries, can be confused with other rock-hewn installations such as wine presses, rock-cut tombs, etc.<sup>17</sup> For this reason, the identification and classification of rock sanctuaries is a very controversial field, evermore complicated by the low quantity of relevant excavation work. Nevertheless, a forthcoming PhD by Correia Santos has taken up the problem and will no doubt provide an important reference point.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> See Domínguez Monedero for the different ways that Iberian sanctuaries (of eastern Iberia) can be categorized (1995:26), and Alfayé for a discussion of existing typologies of Iberian cult places (2009:18-20).

<sup>16</sup> In chapter four I will, nevertheless, discuss how certain of the sites may have inhabited important positions in the *civitas* geography.

<sup>17</sup> See for example, Alfayé (2009:146-179).

<sup>18</sup> See her recent article, (Correia Santos 2010b:182, fig.1), for a map of 126 supposed rock sanctuary sites which she has catalogued from northern and western Iberia (10 pertain to the region of Roman Lusitania, though not necessarily to the period in question for this thesis). Other recent studies of this subject: Fabián (2010); Almagro and Jiménez (2000); Benito and Grande (1992) and (2000).

Consequently, I will not delve further into this debate, especially as so-called rock sanctuaries, which pertain definitively to 1<sup>st</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> century Lusitania contexts, are rare.

Finally, I have included certain rock inscriptions as cult sites/religious monuments, whereas I omit other single votive altars, due to the fact that those inscribed on rock outcrops remain in situ.<sup>19</sup> Thus, we can tell that a sacred act took place at, or in relation to, the given stone, on one or more occasions, and was subsequently recorded. This, in essence, was therefore a sacred space, for some indeterminable period of time, as Correia Santos stresses:

Rock inscriptions, when they are found in their original placement, provide for us an important volume of elusive information regarding the conception of the landscape in which they are inserted and the cultural background to which they refer. These types of manifestations are, therefore, of the highest transcendence for an analysis as much about religion as about the places of cult... (Correia Santos 2010a:195, my translation).<sup>20</sup>

However, inscriptions written in the local vernacular (so-called Lusitanian tongue), from Arronches and Arroyo de la Luz, were found on loose slabs of rock rather than static rock outcrops. As these cannot be confirmed to have been found in situ, they are omitted from the catalogue, although they are referred to within the text of this thesis for the sake of comparison (see Appendices II and III).

All other typological criteria are quite straight forward. It should be noted that ‘altar clusters’ (of three or more altars) are only included in the catalogue when there is reason to believe the altars pertain to one and the same cult site, and are at or very close to their original locations.<sup>21</sup> I have omitted cult sites found on villa estates from the catalogue of this thesis because these villas were often, essentially, more a reflection of urban culture – being the property of urban elites – than the rural, local culture about which this thesis is most concerned. Nevertheless, in chapter four (section c.2) I will give an overview of the meager evidence that exists for cult

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<sup>19</sup> The inscription on a large rock bolder from Lamas de Moledo is actually tilted onto its side. Nevertheless the sheer size of the rock is enough to confirm that it is not likely to have been moved any significant distance from its original placement. See fig.3.13.

<sup>20</sup> “Las inscripciones rupestres, cuando se encuentran en su ubicación original, nos proporcionan un importante volumen de información alusiva a la concepción del paisaje en el que se insertan y el trasfondo cultural al que se refieren. Este tipo de manifestaciones son, por lo tanto, de la máxima transcendencia para el análisis tanto de la religión como de los lugares de culto...” (Correia Santos 2010a:195).

<sup>21</sup> Those altar clusters that do not meet these criteria have been included in the ‘possibles’ section. I have included a ‘justification’ note within the catalogue entry of certain, possibly contentious, altar cluster sites to clarify the reasons for their inclusion.

spaces within early Roman Imperial villas of Lusitania. It is notable that the most prominent villa temples – the so-called *nymphaea* or gallery temples of southern Lusitania – pertain to a time-period just outside the limits of this thesis (see chapter two, section g). Similarly, mortuary landscapes have been left out of this analysis as their study warrants a thesis of its own, which would, however, complement this work. For instance, a future study might compare degrees of continuity in mortuary landscapes to that of cultic landscapes in rural Lusitania; this subject has proven fruitful in respect to other parts of the Empire.<sup>22</sup> Yet, the thesis at hand is concerned with the varying ways that the people who inhabited the small towns, villages and farms of Lusitania, expressed and interpreted their own religiosity under the Roman occupation. What follows is an explanation of the three types of sources – literary, archaeological and epigraphic – through which this topic will be approached.

#### **e) Ancient source references:**

Ancient sources that refer specifically to religion in Roman Lusitania are few in number and meager in content, and also refer primarily to the period of conquest or earlier.<sup>23</sup> Their focus is chiefly geographic, historic, and ethnographic with only the occasional reference made to local beliefs, cult practices or cult sites.<sup>24</sup> Strabo is perhaps the most useful of the lot. Writing at the end of the reign of Augustus, and during the reign of Tiberius, he records intermittent details about local religions within his broader treatise on the geography of the newly conquered Roman world.<sup>25</sup> Of special note in respect to the region of Lusitania is his summary of Artemidorus' observations of the ritual practiced at the open air site of Cape St. Vincent (in southwest Portugal) (3.1.4).<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> For example, Krausse has argued that cultic continuities of the Treveran territory were centred more on cemeteries than on sanctuaries (1999:55-70).

<sup>23</sup> However, there are a few references which pertain to western Hispania that were written in late antiquity by ecclesiastical writers, lamenting ongoing pagan practices (e.g. St. Martin of Braga, *De Correctione Rusticorum* 8, 9 and 16). Alfayé rightly warns against viewing such works as reflections of indigenous, pre-Roman practices, rather than pagan practices belonging to a 'Classical cultural horizon' (2009:10).

<sup>24</sup> For a thorough collection of the ancient sources with reference to the Lusitanians and their distribution and ethnic make-up, see Pérez (2000).

<sup>25</sup> For more on Strabo's sources, and his book 3, which pertains to Iberia, see Richardson 1996:150ff, esp.152 on Lusitania.

<sup>26</sup> For more on this see chapter three, d.2, and C.3.1

He also wrote an important description of sacrificial rites and divinatory practices of the Lusitani<sup>27</sup>:

The Lusitanians are given to offering sacrifices, and they inspect the vitals, without cutting them out. Besides, they also inspect the veins on the side of the victim; and they divine by tokens of touch, too. They prophesy through means of the vitals of human beings also, prisoners of war, whom they first cover with coarse cloaks, and then, when the victim has been struck beneath the vitals by the diviner, they draw their first auguries from the fall of the victim. And they cut off the right hands of their captives and set them up as an offering to the gods (Strabo 3.3.6, tr. Jones 1923).

Human sacrifice, described in this quote, is recorded by other ancient authors in respect to this region as well. Human and horse sacrifice, for example, is noted by Livy when he recounts a speech made by Galba to the Senate in refutation of charges of misconduct towards the Lusitani. Livy writes:

...in which [speech] Galba confesses that the Lusitani encamped near him were killed because he determined that, following their custom, they had sacrificed a man and a horse ... (Livy, *Periochae* 49, tr. Chaplin 2007).

And Plutarch mentions that the people of Bletisa (Ledesma) sacrificed a man in accordance with their custom (Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae* 83).<sup>28</sup> These sources suggest that human sacrifice was practised among some of the peoples of the region of the future province of Lusitania. However, the existence of these references may be more of a reflection of the lure of this topic than an indication that it was a widespread practice.<sup>29</sup>

Another picture of the pre-Roman – Phoenician influenced – south coast of the future province of Lusitania is given by Avienus' *Ora Maritima*. This was written in the 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD, but based on various earlier sources, especially the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC, *Massiliote Periplus*. For example, within the region in question, Avienus mentions a mountain sacred to Zephyrus, generally considered to be the Monte Figo (in the Algarve), and an island sacred to Saturn, presumed to be the Isla Berlenga, Peniche (*Ora Maritima* 164-5, 225-8). Of course, any and all particulars of these sacred

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<sup>27</sup> This is a broad ethnic denomination, referring to the peoples of north-western Lusitania, not the province itself (which was later named after these peoples).

<sup>28</sup> For a useful discussion of literary and epigraphic material relating to sacrifice among the native inhabitants of western Hispania, see Santos (2007:175-217); for more on human sacrifice and the Celts (of Iberia and the west) see Marco (2007:158 ff). See this thesis, chapter six, for more on sacrificial victims offered to the gods in rural Roman Lusitania, 1<sup>st</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD.

<sup>29</sup> For the exceptional nature of this practice see Marco (2007:163).

places, if they had existed, remain largely unknown to us, and we cannot determine the duration they remained *terrae sacrae* in the local mentality.<sup>30</sup>

A scattering of other ancient references add to Avienus' image of a sacred landscape in parts of Lusitania. Ptolemy, for example, refers to the Serra de Sintra, by the coast west of Lisbon, as the 'Mountain of Luna' (C.3.2) (*Geographia* 2.5.4).<sup>31</sup> Interestingly in this case, travel reports from the 15<sup>th</sup> century on, and three preserved altars, support the fact that a collection of altars were set up to Sol and Luna, and the *aeternitas Imperii*, on the cape at the base of this mountain, in the late 2<sup>nd</sup>/ early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD (C.1.2; Marco 2009:204-5; Cardim Ribeiro 2002b). Thus, epigraphic and literary sources both extol this stunning region as sacred ground.

We are not so fortunate in most cases, though. Sometimes all that we have is a name, inherent in which is the idea of a sacred place. For instance, the *Ravenna Cosmography* (304, 11) notes a *Statio Sacra* in southern Lusitania, and the *Antonine Itinerary* (420, 5) a place called *Ad Septem Aras*. Yet, the corresponding locations of these places are often controversial; thus, arguments about what type of cult space these names refer to remain highly hypothetical.

Besides this, the ancient sources very rarely refer to the indigenous deities from the region of Lusitania by name, as they do for Gaul or Germania, for example. The only exception that I am aware of is the deity Neto. Macrobius writes that the *Accitani* (of Guadix, Granada, in *Baetica*) worshipped a statue adorned with rays, which he identifies as Mars, and who he says they called Neto (*Saturnalia* 1.19.5). Two inscriptions, from Trujillo (Cáceres) and Condeixa-a-Velha (Beira Litoral) prove that Neto was also worshipped in Lusitania (CIL II 365, 5278; Marco 2005:292). However, the wide array of non-Latin deity names found on inscriptions from the region offer a much fuller picture of the local and regional deities of Lusitania, as will be shown in chapter five.

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<sup>30</sup> These two references to sacred natural features have been omitted from the main body of this thesis' catalogue as we cannot tell if they remained sacred in the Roman period. See, instead, Appendix II.

<sup>31</sup> Columella, *De Re Rustica* 6.27.7, refers to this as a sacred mountain when he relays a fable that mares became impregnated by the wind here (the story is also noted by Varro, *De Re Rustica* 2.1.19; Justin, *Epitome* 44.3.1; Silius Italicus, 3.379-381; Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 4.116, 8.166. Vasconcellos argued that Monte Tagro in Varro is a corruption of the original which should have been Monte Sagro (/Sacro) (1905:30-1, 103, and footnote 4; Cardim Ribeiro 1982/3: 166 and footnote 8).

At best, all of this provides a faint picture of the Roman perspective of religion in certain pockets of pre-Roman Lusitania.<sup>32</sup> As Marco points out in respect to the Celtic peoples, these natives, for the most part, did not have a clearly defined manner of self-identification prior to the Roman period (2010). What we have in the literary sources is an outsider's perspective not without prejudice or bias (Alfayé 2009:9). For this reason, the ancient sources provide only a minimal source of reference for this study.<sup>33</sup> It is primarily archaeological and epigraphic evidence that constitutes the body of material on which this thesis is based.

#### **f) Archaeological data:**

The countryside is an emerging area of interest in the archaeology of Roman Lusitania. Since Edmondson's call for more research on the topic, various studies have been undertaken (1992-3).<sup>34</sup> These have added nuance to our understanding of this supposed 'backwater.' For instance, Árbol shed light on the way in which Roman interaction in north-eastern Lusitania was oriented around mining operations, rather than urban agglomerations (2001). Other studies have helped to elucidate villa-scapes, rural settlement patterns, areas of regional productivity and specific industries, and the geographical layout of the certain civitates.

Advances are also being made in the archaeological study of individual, Roman, and pre-Roman cult sites which pertain to rural Lusitania. Of particular importance to this thesis is a research project currently being conducted by the German Archaeological Institute of Madrid, concerning the 'Romanization of indigenous sanctuaries of western Hispania' (from 2002 onwards). This project aims to rebalance the primarily epigraphic and literary focus on indigenous religion of the area by initiating a small number of important archaeological excavations of known,

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<sup>32</sup> For how 'rural religion,' especially of the Italic peninsula, was viewed by the ancient sources, see North (1995:135-150).

<sup>33</sup> Only two sites recorded by ancient sources have been included in this thesis' catalogue (C.3.1-2). Others were excluded because record of them pertains to a pre-Roman era and there is nothing to indicate that they continued to be viewed as sacred space during the Roman Imperial period (Appendix II, nos.9, 12, 13).

<sup>34</sup> The other articles in the same publication as Edmondson, (Gorges and Salinas (eds) 1992-3), also dealt with various aspects of the rural environment in Lusitania. On the current flourishing of 'countryside' studies of the Greek and Roman worlds see Witcher (2009:462-473).



‘indigenous’ sanctuaries.<sup>35</sup> Those cult sites, excavated as part of this project, and situated within the borders of Lusitania, include São Miguel da Mota, Postoloboso, Cabeço das Fráguas and Quinta de São Domingos<sup>36</sup> (C.1.4, 1.21, 1.22, 1.27). Also, in the mid 90’s, Schattner, of the German Archaeological Institute of Madrid, conducted a study and reappraisal (without excavation) of the temple structure at Santana do Campo, in southern Portugal, which is conserved in the form of a church (C.1.26) (1995-7). More recently, Correia Santos, a doctoral student at the same institute, excavated certain putative rock sanctuaries of western Hispania, including an excavation of the so-called ‘rock sanctuary’ at the castro of Mogueira, in Lusitania (C.1.7) (forthcoming; 2010a:187-192; 2010b:155).

Therefore, archaeological investigation emanating from the German Archaeological Institute of Madrid is redirecting research focus towards the detailed study of western Hispanic cult sites (primarily rural in nature). Other important studies have made similar inroads. For example, Carvalho recently excavated a large, non-urban temple at Nossa Senhora das Cabeças (Orjais) (C.1.20) (2003:153-182). Moreover, in the mid 90’s, Maia and Maia unearthed a collection of c. 15,000 oil lamps within a votive deposit in the southern Portuguese town of Santa Bárbara de Padrões, with distinct similarities to two other deposits from the same region (conventus Pacensis) (C.1.24) (1997).

These new studies have profoundly added to and altered our understanding of various cult sites. For example, Guerra and Schattner and their team did not recover any pre-Roman remains at the sanctuary of the indigenous deity, Endovellicus, on the hill of São Miguel da Mota (Guerra et al. 2003). Nor did they find a Roman temple beneath the chapel on the hill’s peak. These findings thus shattered two long-held assumptions. At Cabeço das Fráguas, it was posited that the famous ‘Lusitanian’ rock inscription found on the hill-top was erected some time after the abandonment of a fortified, Iron Age settlement there. However, recent excavations have now demonstrated that this settlement was an important religious centre from the 8th/7th

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<sup>35</sup> This work has often involved scholars belonging to other institutions as well, especially archaeologists of the University of Lisbon.

<sup>36</sup> The cult site at Quinta de São Domingos is part of a Roman Imperial settlement found at the base of the hill of Cabeço das Fráguas. See: Correia Santos et al. (2008); Correia Santos and Schattner (2010); Correia Santos (2010c) [Cabeço das Fráguas and Quinta de São Domingos]; Guerra et al. (2003); Schattner et al. (2005) [São Miguel da Mota]; Schattner et al. (2006; 2007) [Postoloboso].

c. BC until the early Imperial period (Correia Santos and Schattner 2010; Correia Santos 2010c). Therefore, the rock inscription should fit into the latest period in the existence of the cult site here: sometime in the 1st c. AD (Santos 2009:187). Likewise, the often cited putative ‘rock sanctuary’ at Mogueira has recently been shown, by Correia Santos, to instead have been rock foundations of medieval domestic structures. She argues that the actual Roman/pre-Roman cult site was located closer to the river in an area where a series of rock inscriptions were found (forthcoming, 2010a:187-192; 2010b:155) .

Though these excavations are mounting in number, there is still much more to be excavated. The ‘possible’ section in the catalogue of this thesis is a testament to this fact. For example, the site at Las Torrecillas (Cáceres) – a probable vicus or villa – with its subterranean collection of items which seem to relate to ritual practices, no doubt has a great deal more to tell than was brought to light in the last, cursory excavation there at the start of the 20th century (C.2.11). Similarly, the mountain-slope aedícula at Jarilla has never been excavated, nor have the vestiges of a small podium at Fuentidueñas, or those of a rectangular structure with associated column and altar fragments at Collado de la Lobosilla (all in Cáceres) (C.1.11, 2.5, 2.10). All three of these sites have distinct similarities and may prove to be a string of temples fringing the territorium of Capera (see chapter four, section d).

Excavation at Quinta do Campo may someday reveal a vicus temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus<sup>37</sup>, as Fernandes et al. have argued based on the existing remains (C.2.15) (2006:182-185). In addition, the well-known altar cluster to Sol and Luna from Colares, evidenced by three extant votive inscriptions, ancient source references (noted above) and travel writings of the last half millenium, has not yet been excavated (C.1.2). Archaeological study here may someday help confirm or deny the varied accounts, from the 16th to 18th centuries, of remains of a temple adjoining this promontory.<sup>38</sup> Unexcavated sites like this, moreover, are a reminder of the provisional nature of any conclusions formed about rural religiosity in Lusitania. Still, there is little likelihood that future archaeological work will significantly

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<sup>37</sup> This altar was found in nearby Coriscada. It reads: Iovi O[pt]/umo M[ax]/umo sa[cr]um / vicani S[-c.1-2-]/goaboic(enses) (HEpOL 18512).

<sup>38</sup> See C.1.2 and also Cardim Ribeiro (2002b:235-237) for a discussion of these sources.

change the overall picture of Lusitanian countryside worship; this will be shown to be one that was largely made up of small scale, unelaborated and heterogeneous cultic expressions, governed by local and regional trends and dynamics.

#### **g) Epigraphic material:**

This thesis is focused primarily on cult sites and monuments whose original placement in the given topography is either known or highly probable. Therefore, the myriad of votive inscriptions that have been found throughout the region, decontextualized, and often built into later edifices, are not the main focus of this thesis. They will, however, form the subject of chapter five, which is concerned with the overall pattern of deities worshipped in rural and urban environments (see tables in Appendix IV). Though we do not know the exact findspot of the majority of Lusitanian votive inscriptions, I will argue that we can be relatively sure that they were not exported great distances from their original provenance. Thus, chapter five's analysis of rural to urban differences is still warranted. It is also important to note that that chapter, like the rest of the thesis, is interested in mapping cult in the Lusitanian landscape, not in offering new epigraphic or palaeographic analyses of the votive testaments, or entering into the debate about the etymology of the given deity names.

Those subjects are currently being studied by various scholars in their respective disciplines. Though an updated corpus of all inscriptions from Lusitania has yet to be published, following Hübner (CIL II), numerous recent works have analysed the epigraphy of specific regions of the province, or, in respect to religion, of specific categories of deities or dedicators. Encarnação and Guerra's thorough reappraisal of 'Celtic' divine names from the province is particularly noteworthy. It highlights the vast quantity and wide range of indigenous deities worshipped in this province and points out some of the various pitfalls to their analysis (2010:94-112). Other scholars have dealt with specific components of such inscriptions, including dedications made by collectives (Dias and Gaspar 2007; Marco and González 2009 [Tarraconensis]). These perspectives broaden our understanding of the social component of religion in the region and transcend dichotomies of native to Roman deities. The difficult question of the etymology of deity-names from Lusitania, or

western Hispania, has also been reappraised recently. One important such work, by Prósper, emphasizes the primacy of the natural terrain in the etymology of divine names (2002). As such, it complements the present thesis, which is concerned with the natural and man-made topography of the rural environment and the ways that cultic expression fit into this backdrop.

#### **h) Theoretical and methodological approaches: terminology and its implications:**

In the following section I will explore various terms which require further definition and discussion. I will use these as conduits to a discussion of the relevant theoretical underpinnings of this thesis. Each term overlies key debates about how to interpret and represent what it was to be part of the Roman Empire or what it was to conduct religious practice within the Roman period.

##### **Romanization:**

Any study that chronicles the period of cultural confrontation between indigenous societies and Romans, and/or the subsequent cultural changes that followed on this, immediately comes up against the prolifically used, and now heavily debated and qualified term, Romanization. During the late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, it became common to use this term to explain the diffusion of Roman culture to the Empire.<sup>39</sup> This was seen primarily through the lens of the colonial climate as an outward flow of the trappings of Roman civilization from the governing elite to the provincials. From the late 20<sup>th</sup> century on, this term has been progressively adapted and qualified to include agency on the part of the provincials and to account for reciprocal cultural change on the part of both Romans and provincials alike. Often, Roman/Italic culture is now portrayed less as a unified entity that could be exported than as part of an evolving whole (Woolf 1997:339-350 and 2001:173-4). From this perspective, the effectiveness of the term Romanization,

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<sup>39</sup> For more on the debate see, for example: Mattingly (ed.) (1997; 2002:536-540; and 2011:38-41 [a good, brief overview] and 204-207); Hingley (2000 [the link between Romanization and Imperial discourses in Britain]); Woolf (1997:339-350; and 1998:1-23 [especially, in respect to Gaul]). These are only a few of the many scholars to wade into the 'Romanization' debate. It has become very common to find a definition of this term, or synopsis of the controversy surrounding its utilization, in scholarly work on Roman archaeology (especially of the western Provinces).

in characterizing the complex cultural change of the Roman episode, is definitely questionable (Freeman 1993; Barrett 1997; Mattingly 2002).<sup>40</sup>

In respect to the present topic, straight-forward appraisals of Roman-ness or Romanization become complicated, at any rate, when one considers the various hybrid adoptions that occurred in rural Lusitania. For example, is a courtyard temple in southern Lusitania, supposedly modeled after North African counterparts, and thought to venerate a local deity, a measure of weak or strong Romanization?<sup>41</sup> What about the sanctuary of Endovellicus which was Classical in all but name (i.e. deity name)?<sup>42</sup> Was the cult of Labbo/Laebo a Romanized cult when this indigenous deity was worshipped at the base of the hill of Cabeço das Fráguas through the medium of the votive altar? What about when this deity and other local gods were worshipped on the top of that same hill, via an inscription in the Lusitanian tongue and Latin alphabet?<sup>43</sup> We could rank these cult sites based on indicators of ‘Roman-ness’ be they deity-names, personal names of the dedicators, cultic media, etc., but it is unclear how to privilege one element over another. In the end the research question seems to be diluted to the point of insignificance (Freeman 1993:444-5). Rather, the focus of this thesis is much more concerned with what the rural cult sites tell us about the dynamics of the countryside than the spread of ‘Roman-ness.’ Accordingly, discussions of Roman or foreign media found at these cult sites will focus more on what these adoptions tell us about the functioning of the local cult, than its degree of ‘Romanization’.

### **Pre-Roman, Indigenous, Roman, Provincial:**

Another important distinction in terminology should be drawn between references to ‘indigenous’ and ‘pre-Roman’ deities, terms which are often used interchangeably in the context of western Hispania. Like Santos, I prefer the term ‘indigenous’ to ‘pre-Roman’ (2005:6).<sup>44</sup> Non-Latin deity names of Hispania are only known to us through Roman period epigraphy, making it impossible to be certain how they compare to the actual pre-Roman pantheon. As Haeussler and King warn, it

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<sup>40</sup> Other “-izations” have been adopted in its place, such as ‘globalization’ (Hingley 2005) and ‘creolization’ (Webster 2001:209-225), though none have gained widespread currency.

<sup>41</sup> The temple of Santana do Campo (C.1.26).

<sup>42</sup> The sanctuary of São Miguel da Mota (C.1.27)

<sup>43</sup> Base of the hill = Quinta de São Domingos (C.1.22); Peak of the hill = Cabeço das Fráguas (C.1.4)

<sup>44</sup> Following Encarnação (2002:12), Santos also rejects the term palaeo-hispanic deities, as the ancient ‘palaeo’ component has no point of reference: ancient in respect to what? I will also avoid this term.

is always possible that these gods and goddesses were, as they term: “newly created deities, for a new socio-political situation” (Haeussler and King 2007:8). Arenas-Esteban and López-Romero, make the same point, stressing that many of the indigenous deities of western Iberia may have only emerged as a consequence of the new Roman territorial organization (2010:174). As such, they were a means of asserting local identity in a new era, rather than a continuity of ancestral cult.

We should also be wary of creating a rigid dichotomy between indigenous and foreign deities. After the passage of centuries and numerous generations under Roman rule a ‘community’s gods’ must have been seen as just that, the local pantheon of gods belonging to the community, regardless of each deity’s origin (Derks 2002:543). It is for this reason that certain scholars have turned to the designation ‘provincial’ religion, rather than Roman and indigenous (Díez de Velasco 1999:91). This is a less polarizing manner of classifying the complex blending of religious expressions that went on in the various corners of the Roman Empire. Indeed, the material introduced in this thesis will be explored as expressions of ‘local’ or ‘provincial’ religion, for the most part. Though, I will not discard the use of the terms indigenous/local and Roman/foreign with respect to geographical origin of deities, I will put greater emphasis on the contexts of cult – e.g. community-based, regional, natural, man-made, industrial, etc. – rather than whether the gods or cults were local or imported. I will allow for the possibility that both indigenous and Roman deities evolved and changed over time, and through their interrelation.

### **Polis religion:**

To explore religious expression in the countryside it is useful to first touch on how it differed from that of the city. In doing this, one immediately comes up against the common polis religion (/civic religion) model, fully articulated, primarily, by Sourvinou-Inwood in respect to Greek religion (1990:295-322). This construction – adapted to the Roman context – highlights the way in which Roman religion was tied to and indivisible from the structure and functioning of the ancient city, wherein it was reinforced through ritual (Rives 2010:284).<sup>45</sup> Yet, it is difficult to reconcile rural

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<sup>45</sup> Many scholars do not see civic religion as a constant, though. Some have argued that official, civic religion of the empire slowly eroded as religious identity came to rest less on the political, and choices of religious expression grew with an increasingly cosmopolitan empire (Ando 2003:221, footnote 9; North 1992; Rives 1995:173-249).

cultic activity with this principle. Of course, ‘rural religion’ was definitely not an entity that can be outlined and identified, as opposed to the civic religion. This was succinctly shown by North in respect to Republican Italy. He noted that frequent references to ‘country religion’ from this context belied what was actually never exclusive and discernible from the civic religious sphere (1995). Were the variant religious monuments of the Lusitanian countryside similarly related to an official religion, embedded in the civic structure? More importantly, can they be best appreciated through the polis-religion model? Critics of this model would say no. They argue, namely, that polis-religion does not account for the assorted religious practices of the empire (Woolf 1997; Bendlin 2000).

Roman religion was not only exported by the central governing establishment to the provinces, it was spread by soldiers, slaves, merchants; in short, various individuals. As empire-wide interaction intensified, it evolved and grew in myriad ways. Thus, the countryside was not only the recipient of the civic religion spread by city officials who erected cult sites in the hinterland, or by countryside emulation of civic models, it was also informed by innumerable interactions between foreigners and locals, city and country-dwellers, and even among country-folk themselves. The cultic expression that resulted in the countryside was rarely a straight-forward copy of urban forms. In fact, in the context of Lusitania, rural cult sites are so diverse and hybrid as to suggest a great amount of freedom on the part of the country-folk. Therefore, the polis religion model inadequately explains the rural religion of Lusitania.

### **Public, Private:**

These terms, and the degree to which they can be isolated from one another, have been another point of controversy in scholarship concerning Roman religion. For the present purposes, it will suffice to say that ‘public’ temples, shrines, or other cult sites were those erected by civic authorities and presided over by civic priests; ‘public’ is therefore a distinction relating to the status of the cult space rather than its context (Derks 1998:94; Casaeu 2004:110-111). The cult spaces that were public under Roman law were inviolable and required the emperor’s approval to be removed, as letters between the younger Pliny and Trajan concerning a temple in Nicomedia, aptly demonstrate (Pliny, *Epistulae* 10.49; Casaeu 2004:110). There is no

direct correspondence between public and civic, or private and rural, cult. Rural, peri-urban or suburban sanctuaries sponsored by public funds are generally considered to have been ‘public’ cult sites.<sup>46</sup> Private cult spaces existed in both town and country. However, various nuances exist between what was actually public and what was private. For example, Woolf writes:

It is certainly true that even priests engaged in private cult, that private individuals performed their own rites at temples under the control of priests, and even that for some priests (the *flamen dialis*, for instance) their domestic and public ritual life was collapsed into one (2000:618).

And, the same author also writes:

No convincing case has been made, to my knowledge, for the existence of sanctuaries reserved for acts of public cult alone (2009:682).

Therefore, as these quotes by Woolf demonstrate, the distinctions between private and public status are not clear and absolute.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that, in rural Lusitania, temples and sacred sites that can be termed ‘public’, based on the definition above, were by far the minority (though they existed elsewhere in the Empire). Consequently, if most temples and sacred sites in rural Lusitania are to be classed as private – belonging to the impetus of communities, kinships, groups, or private individuals – then we must be careful not to view rural sanctuaries as part of any type of broad-based, top-down, initiative to acculturate the countryside to Roman ways (see chapter four, section a).

### **i) What others have said: related studies**

This study is unique, in the historiography of Lusitania, in systematically analysing cult sites and religious monuments of the rural realm.<sup>47</sup> In a highly nuanced and critical article on the concept of ‘rural religion’ in Hispania Tarraconensis, Revilla notes that beliefs of the rural environment are not considered in any studies of religion in Hispania as a specific research focus or problem (2002:189). This study aims to help fill this gap. Two articles published by Marco, in

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<sup>46</sup> For example, a recent compilation of essays concerned with large public sanctuaries, includes primarily rural and peri-urban/suburban sanctuaries (Dondin-Payre and Raepsaet-Charlier 2006; Woolf 2009:681).

<sup>47</sup> There are certain studies of rural religiosity which pertain to other parts of the Roman Empire, see for example: Edlund (1987) on Magna Graecia and Etruria; Steinsapir (2005) on Roman Syria; Stek (2009) on Republican Italy; or the collections of essays in Auffarth (2009) on N. Africa, Germania Inferior, Dacia, Phrygia and areas of Greece.



1996 and 2009, have also made useful inroads into the topic. The first, which explores the better-known ‘sanctuaries’ of rural western Hispania, argues that many continued from pre-Roman times and became a significant force in the ‘Romanization’ of countryside cult. In certain cases, Marco sees this latter role as having been ‘stimulated by Rome’ (1996:83). I find that neither of these claims are particularly apparent in the context of rural Lusitania alone. In chapter two, I will show that direct continuity from the pre-Roman period is not evidenced, through the archaeological record, for the majority of the cult sites in question. And, in chapter four I will demonstrate that – with one important exception – few of the sanctuaries can be proven to have been erected, maintained or utilized as defacto ‘Romanizers’ by the official governing apparatus. Of course, the geographical focus of my study is more limited than that of Marco’s and, therefore, only challenges his results in respect to Lusitania.<sup>48</sup>

His second work is devoted to the subject of epigraphy from the rural environment of Hispania. In accordance with his earlier work, he records both a Roman promotion of some rural sanctuaries and what he terms a “persistence of traditional cosmologies”, with the epigraphic record thus “documenting a duality of the local and the universal” (2009:208, my translations).<sup>49</sup> I have already noted above that the first idea is difficult to support by way of the Lusitanian evidence alone. Besides this, I would add space for expressions of cult in the rural sphere that were neither ‘stimulated’ by Rome (top-down)<sup>50</sup>, nor continuations of local traditions (bottom-up), but unique and often innovative cross-sections of the local and the imported.<sup>51</sup> Marco also argues that western Hispania was unique in its avid adoption of the epigraphic habit, and that ‘epigraphic density’ was not directly proportional to the degree of ‘Romanization’ (2009:208). He makes the important point that

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<sup>48</sup> I do not deny that there were various rural sanctuaries from elsewhere in Hispania which were stimulated by civic authorities. For example, Marco records epigraphic testament of this at the Cave of Fortuna (Murcia), Cales Coves (Menorca), and Panóias (northern Portugal = northwest Tarraconensis), as well as the altar cluster of Alto da Vigia, Colares, on the coast of Lusitania, which is the above-mentioned exception (C.1.2) (Marco 2009:201-205).

<sup>49</sup> “...la persistencia de las cosmologías tradicionales, documentan esa dualidad de lo local y lo universal...” (Marco 2009:208).

<sup>50</sup> The concept of ‘Roman’ stimulation of rural sanctuaries, or lack thereof, in Lusitania, will be brought up in chapter four.

<sup>51</sup> For example, see the discussion about the cult of Jupiter Solutorius/Repulsor in chapter five, section g.

epigraphy was used here as a manner of ‘monumentalizing’ sacred space. This holds true for rural Lusitania, as we will see throughout this thesis.

Like Marco, Olivares has also compared divinities inscribed in votive epigraphy of rural and urban contexts of western Hispania (2002-3; 2006).<sup>52</sup> In the earlier of these articles, he argues that Romanization of the urban centres led to a retention of fewer indigenous deities in this sphere than in the countryside. When indigenous divinities appear in the urban environment, he argues, they are primarily female deities, or those of a less political/public nature (2002-3). The only difficulty with this fascinating study is the recurring problem: we cannot tell what the distribution of these deities was prior to the Roman period, so it is precarious to speak of subsequent change. The same author later explored epigraphy of rural ‘Celtic Hispania’ (a region including parts of Lusitania) and stressed the degree of regional differentiation in the assimilation of Roman cults (2006:139-158). This heterogeneity of cultic expression – which he attributes to the varying pre-Roman traditions – is also evidenced by the cult sites analysed throughout this thesis.

Apart from these few studies, in most other cases when rural cult sites which pertain to Lusitania are discussed, they are part of analyses of ‘indigenous’ sanctuaries (often including all of western, ‘Indo-european’, or Celtic Hispania).<sup>53</sup> These provide a counterweight to earlier Romanocentric perspectives. They explore and privilege local religious expression and shed light on topics such as religious continuity and expression of local identity under a new world order. As the majority of cult sites from rural western Hispania do venerate indigenous deities, they tend to include the majority of the available evidence. Nevertheless, these studies do not account for rural cult sites that worshipped Classical deities, or whose deities are

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<sup>52</sup> The same topic is taken up in an unpublished Masters thesis completed by Marques (2005), at the University of Lisbon, which focuses purely on the conventus Scallabitanus, of Lusitania. The author argues that ‘Romanization’ emanated from the urban centres to the periphery, and that indigenous deities were worshipped and most frequently represented in the rural environment. Although I agree that indigenous deities are more represented in the non-urban sphere, I will attempt to show that the unique cases of continuity and innovation in rural cult were not simply the result of weak or strong ‘Romanization.’

<sup>53</sup> The current research project about ‘indigenous sanctuaries’ being conducted by the German Archaeological Institute of Madrid, is a case in point. Various investigations of the indigenous religion of Hispania have also been undertaken as part of the European project entitled, *Fontes Epigraphici Religionis Celticae Antiquae* (FERCAn), and numerous colloquia in the *Lenguas y culturas palaeohispanicas* series (with publication dates from 1976 to the present) (for more on these, see Encarnação 2009:466).

unknown; likewise, they often omit the whole region of southern Lusitania, which is seen to conform to different pre-Roman influences. For example, few such studies speak of the temple of Nossa Senhora das Cabeças (Orjaís), the aedicula at Jarilla (Cáceres), and that attached to the bridge at Alcántara (Cáceres), the enigmatic buttressed, courtyard temple at Santana do Campo (Évora), the altar cluster of Sol and Luna (Alto da Vigia, Colares), the rock carving at Cenicientos (Madrid), or the oil lamp deposits at Peroguarda and Santa Bárbara de Padrões (Alentejo), etc. (see my catalogue, Appendix I).<sup>54</sup> These were also a part of the rural religious topography of the Roman Imperial period. By privileging rural religious expression, as opposed to indigenous, I hope to be able to advance our appreciation of the diversity that existed in provincial, countryside religiosity.

There is also a vast body of scholarly work devoted, more generally, to religion, or gods and goddesses, evidenced in Roman Lusitania or western Hispania, and oriented from the perspective of the epigraphic record (see above, epigraphy). My thesis differs from this body of work in focusing primarily on cult sites and monuments whose original location in the terrain is known. The aim of this is to complement the many epigraphic analyses, and to reconnect the subject of Lusitanian religiosity to the landscape in question. All of the various avenues of inquiry – e.g. indigenous sanctuaries and their continuity, epigraphic analyses of deities, etc. – are furthering our understanding of this fascinating subject, so masterfully outlined a century ago in the well-known work of Leite de Vasconcellos.<sup>55</sup> Taken together with the mounting new archaeological evidence, the study of religion of this region is undergoing a distinct reevaluation and expansion. There is every possibility that ten years further down the road new archaeological and epigraphical material will require significant adjustment to our current knowledge.

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<sup>54</sup> Marco does, however, include the temple of Santana do Campo (which he considers dedicated to Carneus), and the altar cluster of Sol and Luna within his aforementioned articles, but considers both to be related to indigenous cult.

<sup>55</sup> His three volume work, *Religiões da Lusitania* (1898-1913), remains an essential reference to the subject.

## Part 1: Continuity and Change

### II. Cult in time: Evolution of the religious landscape of rural Lusitania

This chapter is an analysis of the chronologies of the cult spaces of rural Roman Lusitania, from their onset until Christian times. Studies of religion of this province tend to perceive cult space as more constant and continuous than other elements of the built landscape. It is frequently asserted that Roman period cult places, especially those that venerate indigenous deities, overlie pre-Roman sanctuaries with roots running deep into the distant past. Yet, as this chapter will demonstrate, these assertions can only occasionally be confirmed by archaeological evidence, and therefore must rest on the more tenuous supposition that pre-Roman religious activity took place in the open air and left no material footprint. Though this impression has merit and cannot be discarded, it has impeded debate about how the religious landscape of this region evolved and changed.<sup>56</sup> Revilla has criticized this propensity in Hispanic research:

In this sense, the first inventories of sacred places in Hispania have principally insisted on the Roman prolongation of indigenous cults, as if this continuity made for a sufficient explanation on its own, forgetting the scarcity and ambiguity of the documentary evidence that supports this affirmation. In actuality, the majority of the evidence (inscriptions) pertains to a chronological and cultural background which is totally Roman and its significance cannot always be defined by its lack of context (habitat and sacred space) (Revilla 2002:208, my translation).<sup>57</sup>

Furthermore, Nünnerich Asmus illustrates that continuity, from pre-Roman into Roman periods, was not evenly perceptible across the cult sites of the peninsula. She argues that Iberian sanctuaries of the eastern peninsula, for instance, were largely abandoned or marginalized once the Romans became well-established in these lands, whereas those of Celtiberia demonstrate greater continuity and absorption of Roman elements into this period (1999:73-74, 75 ff; Keay 2003:437).<sup>58</sup> Her work makes it

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<sup>56</sup> Chapter three highlights the tendency towards nature-based cult in rural Roman Lusitania.

<sup>57</sup> “En este sentido, los primeros inventarios de lugares sacros en Hispania han insistido especialmente en la prolongación romana de cultos indígenas, como si tal continuidad constituyera explicación suficiente por sí sola, olvidando la escasez y ambigüedad de las evidencias documentales que apoyan esta afirmación. De hecho, la mayoría de evidencias (inscripciones) pertenecen a un ámbito cronológico y cultural totalmente romano y no siempre puede definirse su significado por su falta de contexto (hábitat o espacio sacro)” (Revilla 2002:208).

<sup>58</sup> In her discussion of Celtiberian sanctuaries, Nünnerich Asmus includes certain sites, like Sta. Lucía del Trampal and Panóias, that fall outside the cultural region of Celtiberia proper (1999:75-80). Evidence of continuity is primarily attributed to the Roman Imperial period record of indigenous deity names (although, Marco has shown that in Celtiberia itself, this was far less common than elsewhere in western Hispania –see Marco 2009:205; 2005:292-293, and also, chapter six, footnote 382). In

clear that continuity needs to be critically assessed by region, if not by cult space; this is precisely what this chapter will aim to do.

Indeed, cult places could differ in their durations of use in respect to private, local or regional fortunes and necessities, as well as periods of stability and instability. In reference to Greece, Alcock has emphasized that just as human settlement patterns shifted over time, so too did sacred landscapes (1994:247). The ebbs and flows in the life of a single sanctuary are, therefore, a valuable tool in understanding the broader dynamics of the provincial countryside. For this reason, this chapter will contextualize the rural cult spaces of Lusitania in light of a number of broad-ranging, historical developments that were affecting the province and the Iberian Peninsula at large during the Roman period. Certain defining periods including the lengthy period of Roman conquest, the Augustan restructuring, the Flavian decree of *ius latii*, the late 2<sup>nd</sup>-early 3<sup>rd</sup> century dissemination of the epigraphic habit, the third century crisis, and the onset of Christianity will be shown to have impacted on the religious landscape of rural Lusitania. Developments preceding and following the focus period for this study (1<sup>st</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> century AD) will also be highlighted as a barometer of continuity and change.

#### **a) Evidence for dating rural Lusitanian cult sites and its limitations:**

A number of limitations restrict this analysis and it is important to start by delineating these. Primarily, we are hampered by the fact that many of the cult sites catalogued in this thesis have not been the focus of well-documented or recent fieldwork.<sup>59</sup> Even when this material is readily available, it is often difficult to isolate periods of abandonment and clear phases of use/re-use. Certain of the sites in question were also apparently of personal or limited utilization, such as, for example, a votive altar set up next to a spring at Ervedal (southern Portugal) (C.2.8).<sup>60</sup> It is difficult to ascertain whether such personal cult sites retained any sacred significance through time, beyond the moment in which a dedication was made to the gods.

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other words, she shows that local deities continued to be worshipped, which is widely accepted (see chapter five), more than continuity in physical cult spaces in western Iberia.

<sup>59</sup>For more on those sites that have and have not been excavated, see chapter one, section f.

<sup>60</sup> The text of the inscription is: Fontan[o?] / sacrum / Threptus C(ai) Appulei / Silonis ser(vus) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) a(nimo) / ob aquas inventas (HEpOL 23751).

That very moment, or more generally the exact chronology of Latin votive inscriptions in Lusitania, is incredibly hard to identify accurately. Salinas and Rodríguez go so far as to argue:

On account of the nature of the documentation which is very dispersed and deficient, and the great difficulties in dating the majority of votive or religious texts, it is almost impossible to trace an evolution of Roman cults in the Iberian Peninsula (2004:277 [my translation]).<sup>61</sup>

As most inscriptions from Lusitania, in fact Hispania as a whole, lack precise chronological indicators – e.g. consules ordinarii of the year, or reference to provincial era or local magistrates (Haensch 2007:184) – attempts are often made to date them through the far less reliable practice of palaeography. Although some researchers approach this with circumspection (e.g. Knapp 1992:370 ff), often palaeographic dates are listed with little justification. Haensch cautions:

Dating by the form of the letters is only possible if the inscriptions come from a place where many well-dated inscriptions of the same kind were found (2007:184).

It is, however, possible to at least confirm that the majority of the Lusitanian votive altars would belong to the mid-1<sup>st</sup> to mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD. This period, in Hispania as elsewhere in the Empire, saw by far the greatest spread of the epigraphic habit, which peaked during the Severan era. As Kulikowsky records:

...there are perhaps twenty thousand extant Latin inscriptions from Spain, from the Republican period until the Arab conquest of 711. Of these, less than a tenth date from after the year 250, with the vast majority falling within the bare century and a half between Vespasian and the later Severans (2004:33).

This gives us a general framework for most of the religious inscriptions encountered in the rural context, but it is only when other archaeological material is available that accurate dating is achievable. It is also entirely plausible that a cult may have continued at a site after votive dedications ceased to be offered there, or may have been in practice prior to the erection of any altars (Haensch 2007:184).

Besides sites known through archaeological material, I have also included a couple of cult spaces recorded by the ancient sources within this thesis' catalogue. These can be roughly dated by the time in which the author or his sources lived and wrote (C.3.1-2). For instance, we are aware that a cult site at Cape Saint Vincent (Cabo São Vicente) was probably in use at the turn of the 2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> century BC because

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<sup>61</sup> “Condicionados por una documentación muy dispersa y deficiente, con grandes dificultades para datar la mayor parte de los textos votivos o de naturaleza religiosa, resulta casi imposible trazar una evolución de los cultos romanos en la Península Ibérica” (Salinas and Rodríguez 2004: 277).

Strabo (3.1.4) records that Artemidorus, during his trip to the Iberian Peninsula, visited it and witnessed the local ritual there.<sup>62</sup> Although this period pre-dates the focus of this study, subsequent reference by ancient authors to this promontory as sacred, coupled with a lack of Roman period remains here, suggests that it continued to be a natural place of sacred significance into the Imperial period.<sup>63</sup> Nevertheless, in most other cases this is more difficult to assert, and for that reason Appian's Republican period reference to the mountain of Aphrodite (Iberike 64), and Avienus' mention of other sacred natural spots which existed when the Massiliote Periplus (6<sup>th</sup> c. BC) was written, are omitted from this thesis (Appendix II, nos.9,12,13).

All these provisos concerning the dating of rural cult spaces must to be taken into account. Yet, they do not mean that an analysis of the chronology of countryside cult is irrelevant. In her study of Greece, for example, Alcock manages to adroitly show how even the smaller rural shrines and temples can be a reflection of the changing face of the countryside over time (1994). In the same way, when we assess Lusitania in the context of the wider regional history it becomes apparent that even the unassuming little shrines and temples of the non-urban sphere often respond to fluctuations in the broader urban administrative landscape. Whether or not these cult sites conformed to widespread regional trends is also a useful indicator of the degree to which there was interaction between town and country.

## **b) What came before: The nature of late Iron Age and Republican cult in the region and its progression into the Roman Imperial era<sup>64</sup>**

Though the Roman period cult spaces of this region are often considered to have pre-Roman roots, (especially those that venerate indigenous deities), this is problematic to confirm with the available evidence. In fact, few of the cult spaces that existed in rural Lusitania during the first four centuries AD have pre-Roman layers that can be clearly proven to have been cultic in nature; the same is true of the

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<sup>62</sup> Artemidorus lived between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC, and visited the Peninsula slightly before the year 100 BC (Pérez 2000:31-32).

<sup>63</sup> For ancient source references, see C.3.1, justification.

<sup>64</sup> Iberian archaeologists generally refer to the period from 500 BC to the initial Roman conquest of Iberia in 218 BC, as the Iron Age II. The Republican period is situated between the start of the Roman conquest and the onset of the Imperial period, in 27 BC. However as the conquest touched certain areas long before others, the Republican period, in respect to the peninsula, can vary.

urban realm.<sup>65</sup> Apart from Cabeço das Fráguas, which appears to have operated as a sanctuary from as early as the Bronze Age to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (C.1.4), evidence of continuity, restructuring or monumentalization during, or closely following, the period of conquest at cult spaces is scarce. This is in contrast to the earlier-conquered, and more highly urbanized, southern and eastern Iberia. There, cult spaces like Cerro de los Santos (Montealegre del Castillo, Albacete), La Encarnación (Caravaca de la Cruz, Murcia), and Torreparedones (Castro del Río-Baena, Córdoba) were renovated during the Republican period, soon after those lands were conquered.<sup>66</sup> However, uninterrupted ritual activity at, or monumentalization of, pre-existing sacred spaces of the region of Lusitania following the lengthier subjugation of these lands is less apparent.<sup>67</sup>

There are various possible reasons for this paucity of evidence supporting cultic continuity. First, there is the trouble that exists in identifying Iron Age cult space in an illiterate society, which was not leaving written testaments of ritual acts. For instance, Latin inscriptions on rock outcrops reveal sacred spaces at the hill-top

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<sup>65</sup> The most commonly-cited example of religious continuity within a Lusitanian urban centre is that of Mirobriga (Santiago de Cacem, southern Portugal). This is based on the fact that excavators of the University of Missouri identified what they term a putative, Iron Age II (4<sup>th</sup> c. BC), temple structure there. This had a 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC structure built over it, which excavators claim as a possible temple. The sacredness of both structures was further deduced, by these and other authors, due to the fact that the main Roman Imperial forum temple was then situated adjoining the 1<sup>st</sup> BC putative temple (Soren 1983:54-6). However, Barata has shown through newly excavated material that the Iron Age II structure is similar to other domestic and storage structures from the settlement and elsewhere during this time period (1997a:18 [w/further criticisms 16-18]). Also, a buried, overturned bowl with bird bones that is used by Soren to identify the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC structure as religious, is more likely to have been a domestic foundation deposit, as Barata confirms by way of other examples from Mirobriga (Ibid; 1999). Besides this, there is no archaeological material that argues for a religious use of either the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC or 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC structure. Therefore, it is prudent to assume that the Roman Imperial forum temple was constructed over what was probably a domestic enclave of the pre-existing town (see also Appendix II, no.11). Few other urban temples overlie definite pre-Roman sacred spaces. However, an exception to the lack of urban cultic continuity is the site of Alcácer-do-Sal where, as will be discussed below, a Roman sanctuary was built where an Iron Age II votive deposit had existed.

<sup>66</sup> See, for instance: Ramallo, Noguera and Brotóns (1998); Cunliffe and Fernández Castro (1999); Fernández Castro and Cunliffe (2002); Ramallo (1991):50-52. Many of the Iberian sanctuaries that were renovated during the Republican period subsequently fell out of use in the early Imperial period (see Nünnerich Asmus 1999).

<sup>67</sup> It must be acknowledged that southern and eastern Iberia was conquered earlier than western Iberia. Also, the south of the future province was subjugated earlier than the north. It was not until after the Lusitanian wars, which took place between 155-139 BC, that the Romans had any influence in the region north of the Tagus. Even then, the subsequent Sertorian wars (82-72 BC) and intermittent Lusitanian raids had a disturbing effect on colonial aspirations of the Romans in the region. Caesar dealt with the ongoing Lusitanian raids by resettling many of these peoples to the plain during his governorship of Hispania Ulterior in the mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. BC (Keay 1988:33-35, 42-44 with further references).



settlements of Mogueira and Três Rios. Both of these sites were also occupied in the Iron Age; it is quite possible that the same areas, which were later immortalized with Latin inscriptions, may have been considered sacred space prior to this (C.1.7-1.8).<sup>68</sup> Second, pre-Roman worship could have taken place in an open air context as in the case of Cape St. Vincent (C.3.1). Third, ritual practices might also have been conducted in spaces indistinguishable from the profane realm; these differ from our conception of what ‘sacred space’ ought to look like. For example, animal and geometric depictions engraved on the city walls of the indigenous hill-fort of Yecla de Yeltes (Salamanca) could have held spiritual undertones for the populous throughout its long history, from pre-Roman to Medieval eras (Alfayé 2009:87-88).<sup>69</sup>

While these cases above highlight the difficulties that exist in assessing continuity of cultic space in this region, less ambiguous Iron Age II cult spaces have, nevertheless, been identified in the region. The majority of these spaces were either: a) abandoned; b) suffered a hiatus in their ritual material during and directly following the period of conquest; or, c) were re-established in proximate locations paralleling the movement of their associated populations. All of these sites speak to a religious landscape in transition.

To the first category, abandonment, belong sites like the prolific Iron Age II votive deposit at Garvão, southern Portugal, where excavated materials date up to the initial period of conquest and not beyond (Beirão et al. 1985).<sup>70</sup> A pottery assemblage found at Vaiamonte (Montforte), assumed to belong to a comparable votive deposit to that at Garvão, also dates up to this same period (Berrocal 2004b:110-111, no.2.2; Fabião 1996). Still other cult places of south-western Iberia at such sites as Castro Marim (Algarve), Abul (Estremadura), Neves Corvo (Baixo Alentejo), Castro de Azougada (Baixo Alentejo) and Cancho Roano (Badajoz) had fallen out of use prior to the Roman conquest with the decline of the kingdom of

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<sup>68</sup> Correia Santos notes that two earlier engravings existed at Mogueira, which she will be describing in a forthcoming article (2010b:154). These, in her mind, are evidence of cultic continuity (see her Forthcoming a and b).

<sup>69</sup> For atypical cult space, also see Berrocal (2004b) on ‘sacred’ banqueting spaces of Iron Age II, SW Iberia.

<sup>70</sup> This deposit of Garvão included a vast quantity of pottery and animal bones, as well as such votive material as plaques depicting eyes, thin embossed metal plates, clay figurines, an aspergillum (a clepsydra –water clock) and even the ritually deposited skull of a woman thought to have been sacrificed (Beirão et al. 1985).

Tartessos and of orientalizing influences<sup>71</sup> in the region, foreshadowing this subsequent period of change.<sup>72</sup>

Various putative rock sanctuaries, in what would become eastern Lusitania, are also presumed to have ceased in use during the period of conquest due to the relocation of their populations.<sup>73</sup> The paradigmatic rock altar with hewn stairs at Ulaca, which seems to have had a lengthy period of utilization judging from various re-cuttings of its stairs, is a case in point (Almagro and Berrocal 1997:557). It was abandoned along with the habitation in the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BC (fig.2.1).<sup>74</sup> The rock sanctuary at Picón de la Mora, Salamanca, can be dated by ceramic finds at its associated hill-top settlement. These date up to the 3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC (Mateos, Sánchez, and Berrocal-Rangel 2005-6:162; Martín Valls 1971:131ff). In fact, there are no cases that I am aware of where rock-sanctuaries were significantly elaborated or monumentalized following the Roman conquest.

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<sup>71</sup> The decline of the kingdom of Tartessos at the start of the 5<sup>th</sup> century had already brought significant change to the region. Certain cult sites of SW Iberia that fell out of use in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC probably relate to this upheaval, though as Berrocal points out, orientalizing ceramics did not die out completely during this period (Berrocal 2005:485-6).

<sup>72</sup> For a synopsis of these and other cult sites of Tartessos (south and south-western Iberia) with further references, see Arruda and Celestino (2009).

<sup>73</sup> For rock outcrops with rock-cut cavities and occasionally hewn stairs which derive from Iron Age Portugal see for example: Barco de Rio de Moinhos, Cadeiras dos Mouros, and Corredor dos Mouros (all from Santarém), and Rocha da Mina (Évora) (IPPAR nos.16075, 11888, 11884, 10539). Such features are noted in the Spanish section of pre-Roman Lusitania, for instance, at La Mesa de Miranda (Chamartín de la Sierra, Ávila), Las Cogotas, and La Mata de Alcántara (Cáceres) (Álvarez Sanchís 1999:310-311). Benito and Grande, also, have recorded a collection of eighteen supposed rock sanctuaries and ten other rupestral monuments with proposed sacred significance from locations in the regions of Salamanca and Zamora, and to a lesser extent, Cáceres and Ávila (Benito and Grande 2000). These, however, are frequently difficult to date and not clear in their function. Fabián, too, notes certain cases in which rock cut features which may pertain to 'rock sanctuaries' have been found in close association to Iron Age II settlements, e.g. the castro of El Freillo (3<sup>rd</sup> -1<sup>st</sup> c. BC) (2010:250 ff). Most recently, Correia Santos is cataloguing and reassessing many of these as part of her forthcoming PhD.

<sup>74</sup> For more on this sanctuary see, for instance, Bonnaud (2006:198-199); Álvarez-Sanchís (1999:147-151, 310ff); Marco (2005: 313-314); Alfayé (2009:170-173, 219); Ruiz Zapatero and Álvarez-Sanchís (1999); Álvarez-Sanchís et al. (2008). Fabián (2010:232-235, 244-6).



Fig.2.1: The rock sanctuary at the oppidum of Ulaca (Ávila) (Photo E.A. Richert)

Besides cult sites that were abandoned in the first two centuries BC, there are a few others that the archaeological record shows to have only suffered a hiatus during this time; evidence then reemerges in the Imperial era. From the urban realm, the site of Alcácer-do-Sal (later Roman Salacia) is an excellent example of this. A votive deposit existed there in the Iron Age II, and included twenty-two bronze figurines dating up to the initial period of conquest. A Roman sanctuary was later erected at this spot during the Imperial period (Encarnação and Faria 2002:259).<sup>75</sup> The case of Castrejón de Capote – situated very near to what would become southern Lusitania, in neighbouring Beturia Celtica – is similar. An altar surrounded by benches with adjoining storage rooms for ritual paraphernalia, fell out of use in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC when this town was sacked during the Roman conquest (Berrocal 1994). Evidence of cult activity reappears briefly at this site during the Augustan era; at this point the town was marginally resettled and a votive deposit was created at its entrance.<sup>76</sup> The fluctuation in evidence of cult practice at these sites, whether or not it signals an actual halt to worship, reminds us that the cultic landscape was very much affected by the tumultuous period of conquest.

Finally, a few cult sites also appear to have been re-established in newly created settlements following the migrations of their associated populations; these may have upheld local and ancestral religious traditions in their new locations. Thus, the site's excavator, Fernández, asserts that the hill-top settlement of El Raso,

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<sup>75</sup> See Chapter 6, section a.2.

<sup>76</sup> See footnote 347.

Candeleda, was relocated to the plain under Caesar, during the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century BC (Fernández 1986:986). Scholars have suggested that the Roman Imperial period cult space to the indigenous deity Velicus/Vaelicus at Postoloboso, situated on a fluvial plain downhill from this settlement, could have been a continuation of an ancestral cult from El Raso (C.1.21). This is argued on account of an altar to Velicus that was later erected in the abandoned settlement, suggesting a connection between the god and the settlement (ERAv 2005:no.164).<sup>77</sup> A similar migration of cult place may have befallen the god Labbo/Laebo. He was named on a 1<sup>st</sup> century AD liturgical rock inscription at the hill-top settlement and sanctuary site of Cabeço das Fráguas. This was an important religious site; it is the exception to the aforementioned tendency for cult spaces not to show evidence of continuity through Iron Age, Republican and Imperial periods (fig.2.2). In fact, this sanctuary was used from as early as the late Bronze Age to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (C.1.4; Correia Santos and Schattner 2010). Once the population relocated and the sanctuary fell out of use, Labbo emerges as the deity denominated on a cluster of altars found at the Imperial period settlement at the hill's base, the Quinta de S. Domingos (C.1.22).<sup>78</sup> Therefore, the physical cult place eventually moved location, yet there appears to have been fidelity to the deity worshipped.



Fig.2.2: Central structure belonging to the second occupational phase (Iron Age II) of the sanctuary of Cabeço das Fráguas, Pousafoles do Bispo (Correia Santos and Schattner 2010:100, fig.11 citing DAI-J. Patterson).

<sup>77</sup> Also see chapter three, section c.1: Sánchez (1997:135-6) sees rivers that run from the hill-top settlement to the cult space as symbolically linking the two.

<sup>78</sup> For more on these two sites, their similarities and differences, and the phenomenon of their coexistence, see an excellent analysis in Alfayé and Marco 2008:293 ff.

This is not an exhaustive examination of the cult spaces of the Iron Age II and period of conquest in what would become Roman Lusitania. Detailed study of this subject is still needed. However, the available preliminary evidence suggests that on account of the vast changes that accompanied the transition to Roman rule – not only in respect to the physical topography of the landscape but also to the practice of religion and the manner in which the gods were represented – a great deal of difference exists between what we know of the pre-Roman religious landscape of Lusitania and that which emerged in the Roman Imperial era.<sup>79</sup> This is in contrast to what Stek has argued in respect to the countryside of central-southern Italy. He suggests that the Italic and Roman cult places thrived and played a crucial role in the ‘Romanization’ process during the period of conquest and its aftermath (2009). The case of Lusitania also differs from southern and eastern Iberia where various sanctuaries were monumentalized directly after conquest; Fernández Castro and Cunliffe (2002) have argued that this was a manner of acclimatizing the locals to Roman rule. The less extensive and more volatile period after conquest in the region that would become Lusitania, by contrast, appears to have been characterized by a fairly barren religious landscape. Nevertheless, the fact that a few cult spaces re-emerged in the Augustan era, and some deities relocated along with their populations, suggests that, although the cultic landscape was in transition between the Iron Age II and early Imperial periods, a degree of continuity of beliefs surely also existed.

### **c) Post-conquest change: the Augustan and Julio-Claudian eras**

Not only is local or indigenous religious expression sparsely evidenced for the first two centuries BC, but attempts to create what might be termed a Roman religious landscape are also absent. In other words, Roman temples were not being erected in the future province of Lusitania in the centuries preceding Augustus (Hauschild 2002:215). The urban temple at Scallabis is the only possible exception to this, and its chronology is barely earlier than the Augustan era. It is dated to between

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<sup>79</sup> For a discussion of rural settlement change during the transition to Roman rule, and an appeal for further study into this subject, see Edmondson 1992-3:15-21.

Caesar's departure from the peninsula in the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century and the start of the Principate (Arruda and Viegas 1999:58-60).

Instead, it was with the Augustan establishment of Lusitania as a province in the late 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC<sup>80</sup> and with the subsequent administrative and territorial reorganizations enacted under Augustus and the Julio-Claudian emperors, that relative stability created conditions for increased monumentalization. The map of this region began to alter significantly. Colonies and privileged towns, which operated as new regional nuclei, were established. Others were renovated to reflect their new status in the Empire. Many building initiatives were carried out, province-wide, including a number of public and private cult sites. In certain important towns, Classical temples were erected within the fora. For example, evidence exists for the erection of Augustan and Julio-Claudian era, forum temple constructions at the new provincial capital Augusta Emerita, as well as at Ebora Liberalitas Iulia (fig.2.3), Mirobriga Celticorum, Augustobriga, Conimbriga, Salacia<sup>81</sup> and the civitas Igaeditanorum<sup>82</sup> (Hauschild 1989-90:57-76 and 2002:215-222; Mierse 1999; Osland 2006; Carvalho 2009).<sup>83</sup> These grand temples quickly acquainted the people of the newly formed province of Lusitania with their conqueror's religion and acted as a

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<sup>80</sup> Prior to this point, the area in question had been part of the province of Hispania Ulterior. The creation of the provincia of Lusitania, as such, is most likely to have taken place after Agrippa's wars in the north-west of the peninsula, during Augustus' visit there in 16-13 BC (rather than in 27 BC as indicated by Cassius Dio 53.12.4-5). For more on this see Richardson (1996:134 ff).

<sup>81</sup> An inscription found at Salacia (Alcácer do Sal, Portugal) probably records the erection of a temple to the imperial cult, here, on behalf of Vicanus the son of Boutus, as early as 5-4 BC: Imp(eratori) Caesari divi f(ilio) Augusto / pontifici maximo co(n)s(uli) XII / Vicanus Bouti f(ilius) sacrum (HEpOL 21989, CIL II 5182, IRCP 184, RAP 476). Remains of a Roman sanctuary and a votive deposit with a tabella defixionis were excavated at Salacia in 1995 situated c. 50m north of the forum. The temple appears to date within the 1<sup>st</sup> century at some point, with the tabella defixionis, dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD (Encarnação and Faria 2002:259-263). The town of Ossonoba (Faro) became a municipium fairly early – probably under Augustus – which suggests that the temple partially excavated there in the 40's, on the Largo da Sé, may pertain to this period also (Osland 2006:no.10).

<sup>82</sup> Recent excavations of the forum with temple, here, have shown it to be an Augustan construction (Carvalho 2009). This underwent renovation following the Flavian decree of *ius latii* (ibid), and at this time was adorned with two aedicula set up by C. Cantius Modestinus (see below).

<sup>83</sup> It is hard to provide comprehensive lists of urban temples according to the period of their construction; many lack foundation dates narrowed down further than the broad century in which they emerged. It is quite possible, however, that the temple of the civitas Cobelcorum (Almofala) was erected during this period. Frade and Caetano (2002:229) admit this structure is difficult to date, yet some indication is given by a large group of t.s. on the south hill-slope which dates to the mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. AD and an altar to Jupiter from the start of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD (2002:229). An inscription from Collippo also shows that a temple to Mi[nerva] was donated here sometime in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD (AE 1993, 884). Finally, the completion of the forum at Sellium (Tomar) has been dated to the Tiberian period; though a temple has yet to be excavated, one probably existed here and pertained to the same period (Osland 2006:no.16 w/ further references).



visual reminder of the stability achieved through the propitiation of their conqueror's gods. This message was not only felt in the cities, but also in the countryside.



Fig.2.3: The Roman temple at Ebora Liberalitas Iulia (Évora, Portugal) (Photo E.A. Richert)

Outside the urban realm, certain new forms of cultic expression also began to emerge within the first century. These belong, primarily, to the south of the province which was already well integrated into the Imperial setting. The sanctuary at São Miguel da Mota (Alandroal, Évora) in the south-western conventus Pacensis is emblematic of countryside emulation of new urban and Roman models (C.1.27). The recently excavated ceramic assemblage from this hill, for instance, indicates a chronology for the sanctuary from the Julio-Claudian era until the 2<sup>nd</sup>/early 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD (Guerra et al. 2003:433). These dates run counter to frequent attestations that this cult place – on account of its non-Latin deity, Endovellicus – was originally a pre-Roman sanctuary. Instead, it appears that this sanctuary owes its existence to Roman Imperial period developments, whether or not the hill was considered *terra sacra* prior to this.

The most important new development in respect to the emergence of this sanctuary was the initiation of a series of marble quarries in the late Augustan/Tiberian period, in the neighbouring region of Borba-Estremoz. These were developed to meet the insatiable requirement for marble in the capital at Augusta Emerita and other important cities at this time (Nogales Basarrate 1999:492-

3).<sup>84</sup> According to Fabião, Schattner, and Guerra, from the early first century onwards, it was these quarries that were primarily supplying the needs of the devotees of the sanctuary of S. Miguel da Mota (2008). The result was a magnificent corpus of architectural pieces, votive altars, and sculptures that characterize this sanctuary.<sup>85</sup>

Many roadways would also have been initiated under Augustus, or even previously. They, again, would have facilitated human traffic in the countryside. Therefore, it is not surprising that certain of the cult spaces, in close association with roadways, date from this early period in the formation of the province.<sup>86</sup> Three comparable deposits of oil lamps of southern Portugal, for example, that Maria and Manuel Maia have associated with an important road-network, all date from the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century AD (see chapter four, section d) (Maia [M<sup>a</sup>] 2000:23, 25-26; Maia 2006:39-45).

There is a decreased amount of evidence of countryside religious expression belonging to the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods when one focuses on the northern half of the province. However, as noted above, recent excavations at the hill-top settlement of Cabeço das Fráguas reveal that a sanctuary continued in use there throughout this period, becoming completely abandoned by the late 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD. The well-known, Lusitanian-language sacrificial inscription which was part of this same sanctuary, must therefore have been inscribed in the final phase of this sanctuary, and early in the chronology of the province (though it cannot be said at what point in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD) (C.1.4). This is one of five known texts inscribed in an Indo-European language that has come to be termed ‘Lusitanian’ (see fig.2.4 and Appendix III). Another such text, on a slate plaque found at Arroyo de la Luz (III), is equally thought to date to very early in the Roman occupation.<sup>87</sup> Similarly, that found

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<sup>84</sup> Nogales Basarrate calls the Tiberian age a ‘foundational period’ for these quarries, though the great explosion in the use of marble pertains to the Claudian era (1999:492). Vila Viçosa quarries, which also supplied marble used in this sanctuary, date from the Flavian era (Alarcão and Tavares 1989; Fabião et al. 2008:402).

<sup>85</sup> It is also noteworthy that one of the altars from the sanctuary was erected by a ‘marmorarius’ (HEpOL 21222).

<sup>86</sup> See chapter four, section d on roadways and rural cult activity.

<sup>87</sup> Almagro Gorbea argues for a date between 150-75 BC for the piece, based on palaeographic criterion of the ‘open-P’, although he admits it could pertain to sometime up to the start of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD (2003:221). Edmondson argues that it should be dated to a period: ‘only after an epigraphic culture had started to develop in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD’ (2002:52).



on a stone slab at Arronches has been dated varyingly to the mid/late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC (Prósper and Villar 2009), or the early 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD (Cardim Ribeiro 2010).<sup>88</sup> The early chronologies of these other two ‘Lusitanian’ texts suggest that the Cabeço das Fráguas inscription may pertain to the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century as well (although a later first century chronology cannot be ruled out).<sup>89</sup>

All three inscriptions are evidence of the local, indigenous populations of the northern half of Lusitania taking the initial step of adopting their conqueror’s practice of setting down inscribed testament of religious acts, yet translating this into their own vernacular traditions. The early chronology of the Cabeço das Fráguas inscription, as is now attested by archaeology<sup>90</sup>, may also prove instructive in the difficult task of dating the two remaining ‘Lusitanian’ inscriptions, from Lamas de Moledo and Arroyo de la Luz (I-II). These are generally left undated by scholars, or situated within the 2<sup>nd</sup> to early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD (Alfayé and Marco 2008:291).<sup>91</sup> Yet, it is possible that they too fit into this initial period of change.

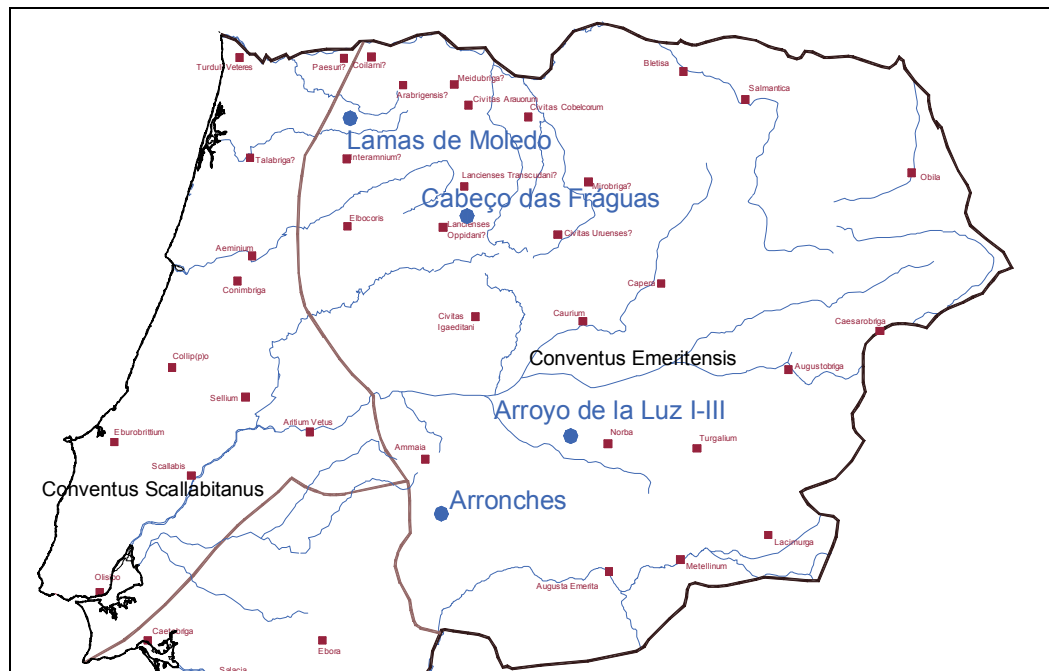
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<sup>88</sup> Carneiro et al. date this to the start of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD based on palaeography of certain of the inscribed letters (2008:168). Prósper and Villar date it to the mid to late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, based on the palaeographic criterion of the ‘open P’ (also attested in the Arroyo de la Luz text) (2009:2; contra the ‘open P’ as a dating criterion Edmondson 2002:52). Cardim Ribeiro notes this text *con grande probabilidade* is dated to the Julio-Claudian period, however, the only dating criterion he notes is the A(ugusta) in the Reve A(ugusta) Haracui (2010:48-9, 55).

<sup>89</sup> See, also, Appendix II, nos.2,3.

<sup>90</sup> Prior to the most recent excavation of the hill of Cabeço das Fráguas, Cardim Ribeiro had already argued for an early 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD date for this rock inscription (2002c:369-370).

<sup>91</sup> These two Lusitanian inscriptions differ from the others, however, in that they have opening sentences in Latin recording the author of the inscription: Lamas = Rufinus et Tiro scripserunt; Arroyo (I-II) = Ambatus scripsit. The purpose of these introits, and the role of these people noted, in the cults in question, is a point of controversy (see a detailed discussion in Alfayé and Marco 2008:296-299). To my mind, the use of both Latin and Lusitanian on an inscription would appear to suggest that it was inscribed for a rural audience that still mostly spoke the local vernacular (i.e. early in the province’s history). Alfayé and Marco, in contrast, see these texts, and that of Cabeço das Fráguas (prior to its archaeological dating), as evidence that Lusitanian was retained well into the 2<sup>nd</sup>/early 3<sup>rd</sup> century for use in ritual (ibid). It is also notable that Vaz attributed the Lamas de Moledo inscription with a 1<sup>st</sup> century date to correspond with the chronology of the neighbouring castro of Maga (with which he notes a possible relationship –see chapter four, section b) (1993:239).



#### d) The Flavian era and the turn of the 1st century

In the final third of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, Vespasian significantly changed the face of Lusitania when he granted the province, and all of Hispania, the Latin right.

*universae Hispaniae Vespasianus imperator Augustus iactatum procellis rei publicae Latium tribuit* (Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 3.30)<sup>92</sup>

This grant was neither as universal nor as immediate as Pliny's account might suggest (Richardson 1996:193 ff). However, it is clear that throughout the Flavian period many Lusitanian towns became municipia and the rural landscape came to be more clearly defined as the territory pertaining to a town (Kulikowsky 2004:13-14). In the towns of both northern and southern Lusitania this change of status was expressed through an explosion of building akin to that which followed the Augustan and Julio-Claudian restructuring. And again, temples often were a visual reminder of this stability. Both Mirobriga and Conimbriga, for instance, gained the Latin right and duly restored their forums and temples (Edmondson 1990a:170; Mierse 1999:220-225); the municipia of Ammaia and other civitates constructed theirs anew (Mantas 2010:175).<sup>93</sup>

In Capera (Cáparra, conventus Emeritensis) the eminent citizen, Marcus Fidius Macer, began appointing the town, newly elevated to municipium, with monuments worthy of this status. An inscription on a rectangular granite lintel, engraved with a tabula ansata, marks the fact that he dedicated some structure to Trebaruna Augusta.<sup>94</sup> Cerrillo has recently argued that a tetrastyle aedicula on the left of the entrance to the forum at Capera may be the original home of this lintel (fig.2.5) (2006:24). High up on a mountain perch c.12 km east of here, as the crow flies, another aedicula with granite lintel carrying an inscribed tabula ansata existed. This is the site of Piedras Labradas (Jarilla), discussed in the introduction to this thesis (figs 2.6 and 2.7) (C.1.11).<sup>95</sup> It is an impossible task to date this small temple with absolute certainty because it has never been excavated; the only dating

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<sup>92</sup> Emperor Vespasian Augustus gave the Latin [right], which had been thrown about in the storms of the Republic, to all of Hispania (my translation)

<sup>93</sup> For instance, Hauschild records that a Corinthian capital, stylistically dated to the late 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, is evidence that the temple of Pax Iulia (Beja) was erected later than the city's Caesarian/Augustan foundation, or that it underwent a refurbishment in the late 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (2002:220).

<sup>94</sup> Aug(ustae) Trebar[unae] / M(arcus) Fidius Fidi f(ilius) Quir(ina) [Macer] / Mag(ister) III II Vir II Praef(ectus) Fa[brum - - -] (HEpOL 20182; HEp 12, 2006, 93).

<sup>95</sup> Unfortunately no inscription is discernable within the tabula ansata.

evidence, a few coins and pottery sherds, was found circa 230 meters from the temple and cannot be seen to definitely relate to the temple's construction or period of use.<sup>96</sup> Yet, it is tempting to draw a chronological link between this small temple in the *ager Caparensis* and the similar Flavian period *aedicula* in the *municipium* of Capera itself, both being small rectangular temple structures replete with stone *tabulae ansatae* over their entranceways in close proximity to one another.

Even if these similarities are not enough to furnish the Jarilla temple with a comparable date to that at Capera, the period of profound monumentalization that Capera underwent following the Flavian decree is the most obvious time to situate the birth of this rural temple. Two other, unexcavated, possible *aediculae* from the rural sphere in this *civitas*, which Alvarado et al. have compared to the Jarilla temple, might someday prove that this was a wider trend (C.2.5, 2.10; Alvarado et al. 1998:4-5).<sup>97</sup> So too might the *aedicula* at the end of the bridge of Alcántara. Liz Guiral has convincingly argued that this contentious *aedicula* was initiated, along with the bridge itself, in the period immediately following the Flavian decree (1988) (fig.2.8) (C.1.1).<sup>98</sup> Moreover, Alvarado et al. have demonstrated that this bridge temple holds various structural similarities with that of Jarilla (1998:4).<sup>99</sup> Therefore, it is possible that several of these small *aediculae* – both urban and rural – were erected following Vespasian's historic grant of *ius latii*, probably as private donations.

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<sup>96</sup> This evidence recorded by Rio-Miranda and Iglesias includes: a spring (itself marked out with some stones); 3 sherds of Campanian ware from a patera (Lamboglia B5); two republican coins [not further elucidated by the authors]; a denarius of Augustus and a bronze coin from the mint at Celsa from between 27 to 23 BC (2004:no.350, coins = Villaronga 1979: nos.958 and 1036). Alvarado et al. do not record any other surface finds or propose a chronology for the site (1998:1-19). However, they do note that this type of small rectangular rural temple is common throughout the empire, and has a diverse chronology from as early as the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD (1998:3).

<sup>97</sup> These two other possible small temples are found at La Lobosilla (Cabezabellosa, Cáceres) and Fuentidueñas (Plasencia, Cáceres) (catalogue number above). Similarly, a small temple in the forum of Igaedis (erected by C. Cantius Modestinus), has comparable dimensions and layout to these temples (Mantas assumes there were two such *aedicula*) (Mantas 2010:184).

<sup>98</sup> Contra Gimeno 1995:118-128 (also see C.1.1).

<sup>99</sup> Both are small rectangular temples of similar dimensions, made of regular stone masonry, with a-shaped roofs, and both lack a significant/differentiated podium (Alvarado et al. 1998:4).

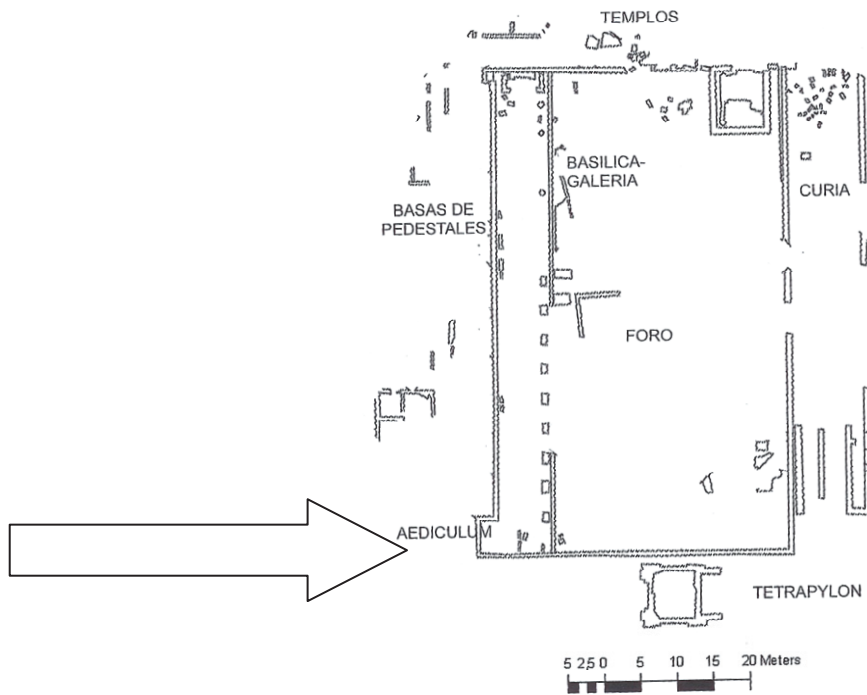


Fig.2.5: Plan of the forum at Capera (Cáparra, Oliva de Plasencia) with the aedicula in the lower left corner (Cerrillo 2006:14; labeling is Cerillo's)

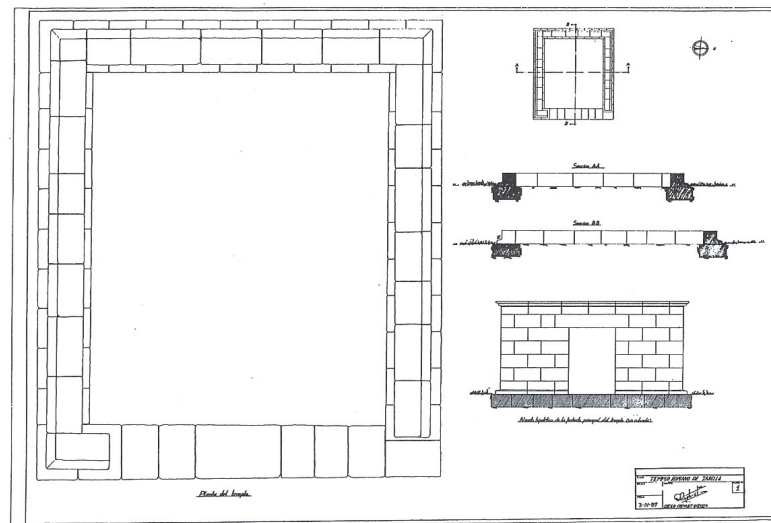


Fig.2.6: Base plan and hypothetical elevation of the temple of Piedras Labradas, Jarilla (Alvarado et al. 1998:12)



Fig.2.7: Lintel with tabula ansata among the remains of the temple of Piedras Labradas (Jarilla, Cáceres) (Photo courtesy of Rio-Miranda Alcón).



Fig.2.8: The aedicula at the end of the bridge of Alcántara (Cáceres) (Photo E.A. Richert)

Similarly, on account of the excavated ceramic assemblage and small finds, Carvalho has determined that a large ashlar-masonry temple at Nossa Sr<sup>a</sup>. das Cabeças (Orjais), in rural, central Lusitania, also dates to the Flavian period (fig.2.9) (C.1.20; Carvalho 2003:159-160).<sup>100</sup> As I will argue in chapter four, this site was

<sup>100</sup> Carvalho, the site's excavator, determines the temple's initial phase to be Flavian (roughly 2<sup>nd</sup> half of 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD) due to t.s. hispanica and fine-ware ceramics (as well as an amph. frag., a type Fowler B1 fibula, a fine chain and four small needles of bronze (Carvalho 2003:159-160)

probably closely associated with the civitas capital of the Lancienses Oppidani at Centum Cellas (Colmeal da Torre, Belmonte) which had gained municipium status through the Flavian decree (CIL II 760).<sup>101</sup> Both Bobadela (possible Elbocoris) and the Civitas Igaeditanorum, (two other civitas centres within a 50km radius of the temple of Nossa Sr<sup>a</sup>. das Cabeças), were also embellished during the Flavian era: small temples were dedicated by C. Cantius Modestinus in both and the forum and temple at the latter town were renovated (Mantas 1992:227-250; Carvalho 2009).<sup>102</sup> Therefore, the temple of Nossa Senhora das Cabeças resided at the centre of an urban landscape that was undergoing a distinct phase of elaboration in the later 1<sup>st</sup> century. The temple in question illustrates how these changes reached their tentacles into the countryside.

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<sup>101</sup> See Chapter four for the reason behind the designation of Centum Cellas as this civitas.

<sup>102</sup> See map 1. Carvalho (2009) has persuasively argued that the initial temple construction of the civitas Igaeditanorum had an earlier date (based on his archaeological work there), although in a recent publication Mantas still considers this a construction of the last quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD (2010:187).

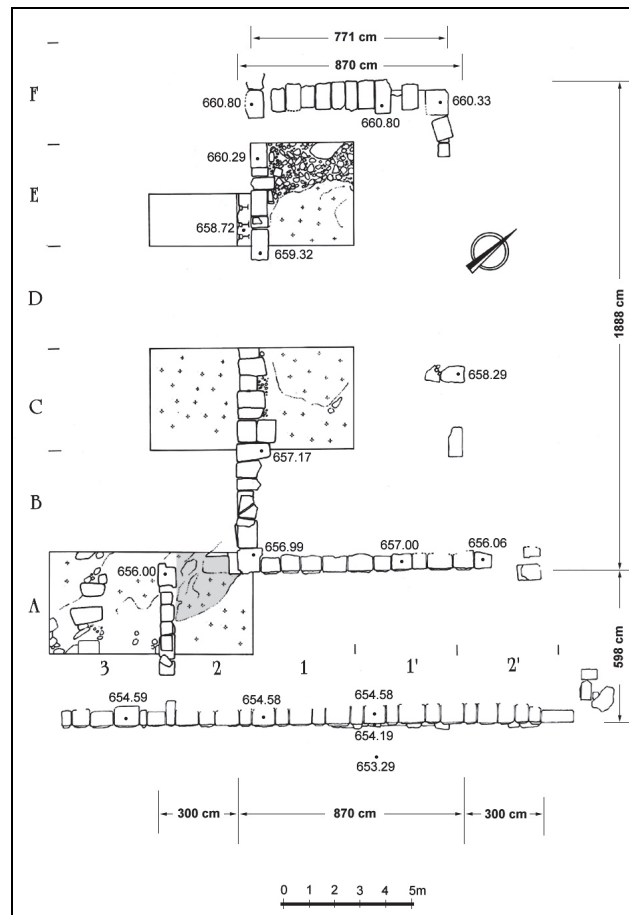


Fig.2.9: Plan of the remains of the temple of Nossa Senhora das Cabeças, Orjais (Carvalho 2003:Est.IV)

In the reign of Trajan that followed the Flavian era many infrastructure projects were taken up across Hispania and developments ignited by the Flavian decree often came to fruition (Rodà 1997:214; Carvalho 2009:128). For instance, Liz Guiral has illustrated that the bridge of Alcántara (with aedicula mentioned above), originated after the Flavian decree, but was only completed under Trajan (1988:201-207; Carvalho 2009:128). Similarly, the monumental ashlar-masonry temple at Santana do Campo – a possible Roman period vicus (see chapter four, section c) – may date to the subsequent period of Hadrian, though this proposition requires further study (C.1.26).<sup>103</sup> Finally, it is also clear that the important sanctuary of S. Miguel da Mota which, as noted above, emerged in the Julio-Claudian era was either

<sup>103</sup> This structure, which is now converted into a Christian church, is unexcavated and any attempt at dating it must be tentative. However, Schattner has argued that the vaulting of the cella was an architectural feature born in the reign of Hadrian. Considering the pace of monumental construction throughout Lusitania from Vespasian's grant through to Hadrian, it is at least possible that this temple was a child of this period, though a later date cannot be discarded either (1995-7:510).



refurbished or adorned with a new temple construction in this period. This is evidenced by a marble caryatid, recently recovered at this site, which Schattner, Guerra and Fabião date to the Hadrianic era on comparison with similar pieces from Augusta Emerita (2008). In all of these cases, there was plenty of incentive for monumentalization: not only had the face of the province been progressively changing on account of the Flavian decree, the emperors Trajan and Hadrian were both natives of the peninsula and so formed a close tie between the Roman governing centre and this periphery.

### **e) The Antonine and Severan eras**

On the whole, the proliferation of new temple construction in the urban context of Lusitania slows down once we reach the early second to early third centuries.<sup>104</sup> By the Severan era, Rodà records that private efforts to monumentalize towns had become rarer throughout Hispania than in the preceding two centuries (1997:216). However, both the Antonine and Severan eras were also characterized by a boom in the epigraphic habit, which peaked in the latter period and saw many altars erected in the countryside (Mrozek 1973). Rodà observes that this brought the habit to the point of saturation, which lessened the socio-political impact of inscriptions (1997:216). In other words, votive altars and other epigraphic testaments became popularized. It is not surprising, then, that those sites that I have termed ‘altar clusters’ of rural Lusitania, are primarily dated to this period.<sup>105</sup>

Here a distinction needs to be drawn, though. Despite the fact that votive altars were most commonly evidenced in rural Lusitania during this era, they had been erected at such countryside sites as the sanctuary of S. Miguel da Mota, in the

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<sup>104</sup> Mierse calls the first half of the second century AD: “the last period of major temple building on the [Iberian] peninsula” (1999:287). There are, of course, certain exceptions to the apparent decrease in temple construction, e.g. a dedicatory inscription dating to AD 184 records that Vettilla Paculi set up a temple to Mars in Augusta Emerita (Andreu 2000:125; CIL II 468; HEpOL 21487). Also a group of sculptures and inscriptions relating, certainly, to a mithraeum in Augusta Emerita, date to 155 AD (anno coloniae CLXXX) (Alvar 1981:61), however the excavations of the supposed subterranean mithraeum suggest that this was itself a 1<sup>st</sup> century construction (see chapter five, section c and footnote 281). Other temples could have been refurbished during this epoch. An inscription from Turgalium (Trujillo, Cáceres) attests to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century refurbishment of a temple which was probably dedicated to Bellona (Carbonell and Gimeno 2005).

<sup>105</sup> These dates are not secure, however, and should be considered in light of all the provisos noted in the section a) of this chapter.

conventus Pacensis, prior to this.<sup>106</sup> It seems reasonable to conclude that this occurred because the epigraphic habit disseminated to the countryside of the earlier conquered, and highly urbanized, south of the province before that of the north. This mirrors the chronology and spread of funerary epigraphy throughout the province, as has been shown by Edmondson (2002).

In the more remote parts of the province (the north of the conventus Scallabitanus in Portugal, or the north and east of the conventus Emeritensis in Spain) the impetus to erect funerary inscriptions in significant quantities did not occur until the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. A.D.... So, in contrast to the uniform process that G. Woolf has observed for the Gallic provinces, in Lusitania there seems to have been a significant regional variation in the speed at which an epigraphic culture was adopted – at least at the level of private individuals (Edmondson 2002:47).

Following this analysis, one can surmise that the more remote areas of the province adopted the Roman custom of inscribing funerary monuments and altars later than their more urbanized counterparts. They, no doubt, also retained their native language for longer. However, this does not mean that they were unfamiliar with, or unwilling to imitate the Roman model of leaving inscribed testament – especially of sacred events. The ‘Lusitanian’ inscription from Cabeço das Fráguas made this clear. Yet, by the mid-second century we can imagine that Latin was largely the *lingua franca*, even in the more isolated rural regions of the province (as the aforementioned funerary inscriptions attest).

In this period, large altar clusters were erected north of the Tagus, in the conventus Emeritensis, at, or around, Sta. Lucía del Trampal<sup>107</sup>, Narros del Puerto, and Postoloboso<sup>108</sup> (C1.19, 1.21, 1.25). The dates for these altars were primarily

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<sup>106</sup> Encarnação only offers dates for a handful of the inscriptions recovered from S. Miguel da Mota and its immediate surroundings. Those of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, dated primarily through palaeography, include: IRCP 495, 515, 517, 525, 529. However, a small number of dedications set up by descendants of important families of Lusitania and Baetica, at this sanctuary, are argued by Dias and Coelho to pertain to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (1995-7).

<sup>107</sup> Abascal dates the votive altars from this site, by comparison with other regional inscriptions and by analysis of the dedicators’ names, to the later 2<sup>nd</sup> to early the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD (1995:76-78). Salas and Rosco attribute the inscribed votive altars varyingly to the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD, with the exception of one which they date to the 1<sup>st</sup> to 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD (1993:63-103 [esp. no.4.10, pp.76-77 = Abascal 1995:no.6]). Funerary inscriptions also found built into the same chapel date from the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century to the start of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century (Abascal 1995:76).

<sup>108</sup> The dates of a few of the altars from Narros del Puerto and Postoloboso are argued to extend slightly beyond this period. From Narros del Puerto an altar to Deo Iovi is argued to date to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD (based on palaeography, the tenor of the text, and possible identification of the named dedicator) (Hernando and Gamallo 2004: no.336) and another to the Lares Viales to between 201/300 AD (ERAv 2005:no.132, p.194). It is impossible to date the various altars and altar fragments from the temple of Piedras Labradas (most of which have no discernable inscription) (C.1.11). It is possible

determined through palaeography, by comparison with regional inscriptions, and through analysis of the dedicators' names. In other words, their chronologies are not definitive. Still, in the case of one of the clusters, Postoloboso, Roman period coins and ceramic material also date from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, thus corroborating the altars' dates.<sup>109</sup> Similarly, five of the nine dedicators, whose names are discernible on the altars from Sta. Lucía del Trampal, are called Severus/-a. Consequently, Abascal has argued that these dedications may have been made after Caracalla's universal grant of citizenship in AD 212 (1995:65-66). At the very least, the popularity of this name suits the Severan era. Finally, the proposed chronologies for the altars from all three cult spaces are, as noted, fittingly situated within the greatest empire-wide dissemination of the epigraphic habit which culminated in the Severan era (Mrozek 1973). Other votive altars from rural Lusitania – especially northern Lusitania – which cannot be securely dated may nevertheless also pertain to this same trend in the dedication of epigraphic testaments.<sup>110</sup>

In addition to the widespread dissemination of the epigraphic habit, the Severan era was also marked by a reinvigoration of the Emperor's cult throughout the Empire (Palmer 1978:1087). This was often initiated by the governing elite. The dedication of a series of altars on the stunning coastal promontory of Alto da Vigia (Praia das Maças, Colares, Portugal), erected during the late 2<sup>nd</sup>/early 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries, exemplifies this statement, as Edmondson duly notes (C.1.2; Edmondson 2007:553). The three altars which are extant from this site venerate the divine sun and moon.<sup>111</sup> One is made for the health of the ruling family and the 'eternity of the Empire' (*pro aeternitate imperi(i)*) (CIL II 259; HEpOL 21312).<sup>112</sup> These were not erected by local

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that these were offered after the temple was erected, in this period of the votive altar's highest popularity.

<sup>109</sup> The Roman period occupation at Postoloboso is evidenced by a small collection of ceramic and glass fragments recovered during Fernández's excavations, collected by the property holders, and more recently recovered by Schattner et al. Those datable, pertain primarily to the 2nd to 3rd centuries AD, and 4/5th century AD. To this should be added a small assortment of Roman coins, ranging from Nerva to Constantine (Fernández 1973:231-235 and 1986:895-897; Schattner et al. 2006:200-203, 208 and 2007:81-82, 86).

<sup>110</sup> Another altar cluster from Quinta de S. Domingos may also pertain to this period (C.1.22). However its altars are largely anepigraphic and many are lost. The fact that this period saw a Empire-wide peak in votive epigraphy, coupled with the supposed dating of many other rural votive altars from northern Lusitania to this period, argues for this date for the Quinta de S. Domingos altar as well.

<sup>111</sup> Three altars are extant; although, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century Francisco de Holanda depicted a circle of sixteen altars here (fig.3.2).

<sup>112</sup> See more on this expression and similar exhortations in Edmondson (2007:553).

country-dwellers. Their dedicators were exclusively imperial legates and procurators of the province of Lusitania (Cardim Ribeiro 1994:86-87; 2002b:235). As I will argue in chapter four, this is, therefore, an anomalous case of official promotion of a rural cult space in the province; it is unsurprising that it fits into this era.

#### **f) Third century crisis?**

Few of the countryside cult sites of Lusitania, can be conclusively shown, through their archaeological or epigraphic records, to have persisted in use well beyond, or started anew after, the Severan period (ending 235 AD). The third century is often referred to as a period of crisis in the history of the Empire, typified by such negative features as the debasement of imperial coinage, a broad decrease in building activity, as well as external and internal warfare, border insecurities and continued military misconduct (de Blois 2006: 269-272). However, Kulikowsky (2004:33 ff) has recently argued that the loss of the epigraphic habit which accompanied this period and is often taken as symptomatic of overall decline, might, in the context of Hispania, just as plausibly reflect an end to the acculturation process and the concomitant need to advertise one's Roman-ness. In Kulikowsky's estimation:

At a less theoretical level, it might be said that once Spaniards had internalized the habits of Roman thought and behavior that went along with the inscribing habit, the need to leave an inscribed record of such practices disappeared (Kulikowsky 2004:37).

Can this same conclusion account for the paucity of votive inscriptions erected in the countryside during the second half of third century? Was the countryside simply following a trend started in the urban sphere, admitting that private epigraphic dedications had gone out of fashion?

Some evidence hints in this direction. For instance, at Postoloboso, Schattner et al. record four late Imperial bronze coins; one of these dates to between AD 348-351, which they argue signifies continuity of the cult here into the 4<sup>th</sup> century (Schattner et al. 2007:85-86, 95).<sup>113</sup> Similarly, in various rural bath sites, small numbers of coins date up until the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and may possibly have been

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<sup>113</sup> Some confusion exists concerning the date of this coin: Schattner et al. (2007:86 and footnote 20) record that it is dated to between AD 348-351, however they reference it as, RIC VIII, p.436, no.84, which dates to AD 351-354. These same authors also suggest that some of the epigraphic pieces at Postoloboso might belong to the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Unfortunately they do not record which these pieces are, or what evidence suggests such a late date for them (2007:85).

dedications to the gods (C.1.3, 1.6, 1.12).<sup>114</sup> A more emphatic case of such ritual coin deposition comes from Gallaecia, just north of Lusitania, where a deposit of 500 coins dating at least until the reign of Constantine II was found in the hot-spring at *Aquae Calidae* (Cuntis) (Díez de Velasco 1985:70-1, 85). Finally, the three oil lamp votive deposits from southern Portugal, noted above, persist into the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century, with a series of small, plain, yellowish lamps (Maia and Maia 1997:16, 21; Alarcão and Ponte 1976:78, footnote 18). All of these examples suggest that even though there was a significant move away from the erection of epigraphic dedications and cult structures throughout the mid to late third century, some dedications to the gods continued to be offered in rural Lusitania, albeit on a more economical and less elaborate basis.<sup>115</sup>

#### **g) What came after: Christianization and the reuse of pagan cult sites**

The general paucity of material evidence for countryside cult sites which became apparent during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century continues into the period of Constantine and thereafter, with the exception of the villa environment. Though this sphere has been omitted from the central focus of this thesis, spaces of worship within Lusitanian villas will, nevertheless, be discussed in chapter four and it will be demonstrated that little evidence of temples or shrines on these properties exists for the early Imperial period. Instead, cult activity of this period, within villas, appears to have been a private affair, often indistinguishable from the rest of the domestic space. From the 4<sup>th</sup> century onward, however, villa-cult comes to typify the religious topography of rural, and especially southern, Lusitania, seemingly at the expense of the other cult sites in the countryside.

This development is exposed by a series of distinctive gallery temples – with walkways surrounding raised cellae – that were built into monumental villas of

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<sup>114</sup> Coin finds of rural Lusitanian baths, however, are not found in quantities sufficient to allow for a definite conclusion as to their ritual use (see chapter six, section b.1).

<sup>115</sup> Even the practice of dedicating votive altars may not have died out completely in this period. In the region of Gallaecia (northwest Hispania), directly north of Lusitania, a cult site including approximately a hundred votive altars to the local deity Berobreus was erected at the site of an abandoned, coastal hill-fort, Monte Facho de Donón (Cangas, Galicia), which dates to between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD (Koch et al. 2004:23-72; Koch 2005:823-836). Some of these altars, unlike the vast majority of votive altars found in Lusitania, or Hispania as a whole, were found *in situ* (Koch 2005:825). One wonders if archaeological contexts were available for more of the Lusitanian votive altars, might their chronologies likewise be found to extend further into the third century?

southern Portugal and south-western Spain (Bassani 2005:93-100). These are found in the following villas of the conventus Pacensis: Milreu (mid 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD) (fig.2.10), São Cucufate (mid 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD), and Quinta de Marim (2<sup>nd</sup> half of 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD) (Hauschild 2002b:244; Alarcão et al. 1990a:127-130; Graen 2005a:264).<sup>116</sup> Moreover, in eastern Lusitania, in the conventus Emeritensis, a structure of comparable plan and date with gallery, podium and cella, has also been identified near Lacimurga, at the villa of Los Castillejos (Aguilar et al. 1992-3:120, 124-5). Finally, the villa at Carranque (Toledo), of the provincia Tarraconensis, was also home to an analogous structure (fig.2.11) (Fernández-Galiano and Gálvez Ayllón 2001). Hauschild records similarities between the most elaborate of these structures, the gallery temple at Milreu, and the Romano-Celtic temples of Gaul, Britain and Germany. These, too, are temples with galleries around elevated cellae (dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD). However, Hauschild also comments that the vaulting at Milreu is a significant difference from the Romano-Celtic temples (2002b:243-4).<sup>117</sup>

In short, the structure at Milreu and other similar gallery temples within villas are hybrid structures that reflect a collection of influences, as well as local innovation. Whatever their precise motivation was, their construction sparked a trend that was exclusive to wealthy inhabitants of the country environment; developed in fairly quick succession around the start of the 4<sup>th</sup> century; and spanned from the south-west of the peninsula to its centre (Carranque, Madrid). In addition, these structures were of a significant magnitude to have made an impact on the surrounding countryside. In fact, as López and Martínez claim in respect to the whole of Hispania, villa cult spaces of this period may have taken up the role of other rural sanctuaries (2006:129).<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Most authors accept this designation, though Graen has recently argued, on comparison with other structures from Rome, that these were in fact most likely to have been mausolea (Graen 2005a:257-278 and 2005b:367-415). However, his view has apparently received little currency among other scholars of these villae; see Bassani for an argument against Graen's reanalysis, and in favour of the more popular temple designation (2005:9). However, definitive evidence to conclude this debate for good – e.g. sepulchers, human remains, or alternatively, votive offerings or altars – has yet to be found for any of these sites.

<sup>117</sup> Hauschild notes that parallels for the vaulting can be found in Italy and the Orient, generally relating to the late Roman epoch (2002b:244).

<sup>118</sup> "Through the closure of the rural temples, the private sanctuaries of the villae, which continued to function until well into the 5<sup>th</sup> century, became the only refuge of paganism, since in the private sphere the Imperial edicts had less effect, less of a repercussion" (López and Martínez 2006:129, my translation). Original quote: 'Tras la clausura de los templos rurales los santuarios privados de las



Fig.2.10: The gallery temple (/nymphaeum) at the villa of Milreu (Photo E.A. Richert)

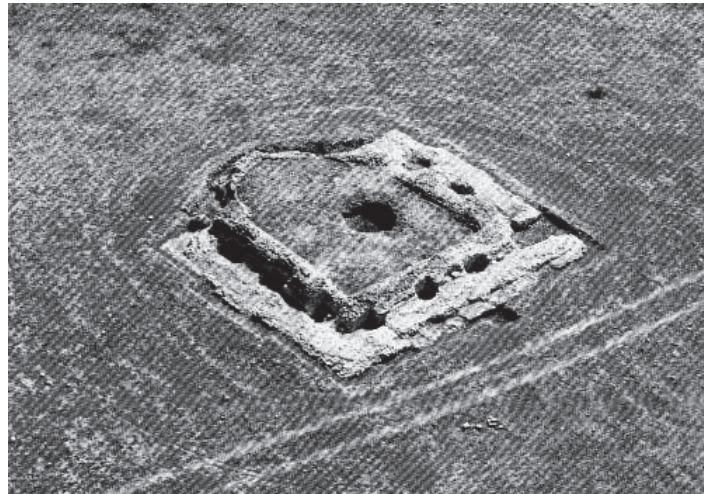


Fig.2.11: Arial view of the putative gallery temple of the villa at Carranque (Toledo)  
(Fernández-Galiano and Gálvez Ayllón 2001:82)

This trend is closely followed by a movement, throughout Hispania, in which rural villas come to house some of the earliest and most monumental Christian structures on the Peninsula (Kulikowsky 2004:250). In fact, in the same period as the construction of the gallery temple at São Cucufate, a basilica was erected at the villa of Torre de Palma (Alto Alentejo). This is datable to the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century based on nummi of Constantius II deposited in the plaster floor of the chancel (Maloney and

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villae, que seguirán en funcionamiento hasta bien entrado el siglo V, se convirtieron en el único refugio del paganismo pues en el ámbito de lo privado los Edictos Imperiales tuvieron un menor efecto, una menor repercussion” (ibid).

Hale 1996:290).<sup>119</sup> Not long after this, the structures at Milreu and São Cucufate were converted into Christian churches with associated cemeteries, in the late 4<sup>th</sup>/early 5<sup>th</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD respectively (López and Martínez 2006:144,146; Alarcão et al. 1990a:130). Palaeo-Christian basilicas were also constructed at Quinta de Marim, which is possibly part of an area denoted *Statio Sacra* in the Ravenna Cosmography, and Monte da Cegonha (Vidigueira) (Graen 2007:283; Alfenim and Lopes 1995:389-400). These, and the other villa churches and basilicas, may have become new religious centres for some of the rural inhabitants in place of their old temples and shrines.

Yet, these villa churches and basilicas are not indicative of a wholesale rural conversion to Christianity. Despite the fact that the villa-scape was conspicuous in its conversion (especially in the south of Lusitania), we know from literary evidence from western Hispania that the rural populace largely retained its devotion to the pagan deities long after the institutionalization of Christianity. For example, Saint Martin of Dumio, Bishop at Braga, writing in the late 6<sup>th</sup> century, laments the rural peoples' ongoing worship of pagan deities associated with the natural landscape (*De correctione rusticorum*, 8, 9 and 16). And, throughout Hispania the issue of pagan tenacity was wrestled with at various late antique Christian councils (see López and Martínez 2006:126-129). It is tempting to therefore surmise that, although there is little evidence of continuity of pagan cult sites in the Lusitanian countryside in late Antiquity, the myriad of pagan divinities which were seen to dwell in this landscape may well have continued to receive veneration.

Accordingly, it is unsurprising that when we do find church structures erected over previous pagan countryside cult sites, outside the villa environment, a significant hiatus generally exists between the dates of the cult sites and subsequent churches. The site of the altar cluster at Postoloboso, for instance, exhibits perhaps the least substantial such hiatus, as it includes architectural remains of a chapel edifice from as early as the Visigothic period (5<sup>th</sup> – 8<sup>th</sup> c. AD) (though there are

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<sup>119</sup> These coins were dated by Hufstot based on their general type, due to the fact that exergues are not appreciable (Maloney and Hale 1996:290, footnote 42). As recorded by Maloney and Hale (*ibid*), these include: 1) Sear 4000, reverse type LRBC 1305 (AD 341-346); 2-4) Sear 3999; 5) Sear 4010 or 4003; 6-8) Sear 4010; 9) reverse type LRBC 1028 (AD 335-337). Maloney and Hale also note that K.W. Harl argues that these were AE4 nummi and reduced maiorinae on AE3 flans in circulation between 352 and 356 AD (*ibid*).



problems inherent in dating churches of this period) (Schattner et al. 2006:208; Fernández 1986:903).<sup>120</sup> Similarly, the ‘sacred promontory’ of the Cape St. Vincent, according to tradition, came to house the remains of the martyr Saint Vincent in a chapel on the spot (the Igreja do Corvo) from the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD (C.3.1) (Gomes and Silva 1987:65, no.111.1). In most cases, though, the intervening period between pagan cult site and Christian church is much more substantial; so much so that it would be unwise to speak of sacred continuity.<sup>121</sup> To illustrate, firstly, the temple of Santana do Campo was not converted into a church until at least the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Schattner 1995-7:488).<sup>122</sup> Secondly, the temple at Nossa Senhora das Cabeças exhibits medieval (12-13<sup>th</sup> century) utilization, but of indeterminate function (Carvalho 2003:161 and 2006:330, no.77). Thirdly, the church at Santa Lucía del Trampal, into which the altar cluster to Ataecina was built, has been reinterpreted to date to the Mozarabic period (late 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> c. AD), while that at Narros del Puerto is a 12<sup>th</sup> century construction (Caballero and Sáez 1999:18, 330; Mateos and Caballero 2003:18-19; Hernando and Gamallo 2004).

Hence, we do not see Roman period temples, shrines and cult spaces of the Lusitanian countryside being converted into churches immediately following the pagan era; nor, as López and Martínez have argued, do we see pagan temples of Hispania systematically destroyed (2006). On occasion, other types of late Roman material supersede rural, pagan cult spaces. In such cases, one can conjecture that the

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<sup>120</sup> See Collins (2004:190 ff) on the pitfalls inherent in dating churches to the Visigothic period in Hispania, and the possibility that these structures may relate to stylistic trends of post-711 AD. He also notes: “There is no doubt that the presupposition, which would once have been generally accepted without demur, that no new Christian buildings could be expected to have been built in those areas of the peninsula under Muslim rule is entirely erroneous. Literary references to the construction of new churches and monasteries in the first half of the ninth century, even close to the Spanish Umayyad capital of Córdoba, would demonstrate this” (Ibid:196).

<sup>121</sup> Maia and Maia argue that the mid-1<sup>st</sup> to late 3<sup>rd</sup> century votive deposit at Santa Bárbara de Padrões was followed closely, or directly, by a structure on the opposite slope of the same small hill which they suggest could be a palaeo-Christian basilica (C.1.24). They excavated this structure some time before they unearthed the oil lamp deposit in the 90’s. They record that the putative basilica – a long structure with semi-circular apse – dates to the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. This would mean that it was erected during the last phase of the votive deposit’s use, or just after it fell out of use (Maia and Maia 1997:13, 22). Unfortunately, Maia and Maia have not published a report on this excavation, so it is impossible to confirm or deny this information. They provide no further information on this putative structure or its dating in their publication concerning the oil lamps (1997).

<sup>122</sup> Schattner notes that the image of the patron saint Ana, still visible in the middle of the church altar, may once have belonged to an initial 15<sup>th</sup> century church conversion which can not be identified. Two inscriptions, from 1715 and 1884, indicate two clear construction phases of the post-Roman church conversion (Schattner 1995-7:488, 505-7).

sacredness of the spot may have been retained in the local mindset. For instance, on the hill-promontory of S. Miguel da Mota (where the sanctuary of Endovellicus was situated) fourth century coins were recorded by Vasconcellos in the vicinity of the modern chapel (1905:122). A small number of finds from the test-pits dug during the recent archaeological excavation also testify to some type of late Roman occupation of the hill-peak (Guerra et al. 2003:456-7,470).<sup>123</sup> However, this late Roman evidence does not relate to a direct reutilization of the sanctuary proper, which was situated on the eastern slope of the promontory, and the subsequent church constructed here was once again a later construction.<sup>124</sup>

Likewise, medieval rock cut tombs have been found in the vicinity of the large rock outcrop with Roman period votive relief at Cenicientos (eastern Lusitania) (C.1.9). What is more, at some indeterminate time in the post-Roman era – perhaps contemporaneous with the tombs (Alfayé 2009:144) – the inscription on this monument was re-inscribed to ‘the three Marias’ (Canto 1994:281). The area, therefore, came to be utilized as a Christian sacred space, although direct continuity is not clear.<sup>125</sup>

In sum, a scarcity of material evidence, for countryside cult sites in Lusitania, exists for the period of the initial onset of state sponsored Christianity. This paucity follows on the pattern of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Over time votive dedications eventually ceased to be erected to the pagan gods as did overt temples and shrines. Continuity of

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<sup>123</sup> Although the test pits appear not to have been fully conclusive and the finds were somewhat de-contextualized the excavators note a 4<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> c. AD sherd of sigillata clara D and a sherd of a “Africana Classica” (Atlante X) oil lamp of similar date as well as two late Roman coins (Guerra et al. 2003:456-7, 470). They also record fragments of a Lusitanian made amphora (Class 23), a bronze ring, and a late Roman coin in a further test-pit. Troublingly, the 4<sup>th</sup> c. coins noted by Vasconcellos are not elucidated any further, but to say they were of copper (1905:122). A small collection of poorly-understood fragments belonging to inscribed epigraphic tablets were found on this hill and, originally, collectively termed the ‘hymn of Endovellicus’. However, as Dias recently pointed out, these do not mention the deity-name (Endovellicus), and they do not belong to a single piece but various pieces whose chronologies may have varied. Consequently, it is very difficult to understand how they relate to the sanctuary of Endovellicus, though they probably post-date it by up to a century or two. They could be vestiges to palaeo-Christian worship, as Dias notes (2002:399-400).

<sup>124</sup> Unfortunately the chronology of this ancient Christian chapel has yet to be definitively determined. The recent excavators note that the earliest remains of fresco painting appear to date to the reign of Philip (AD 1580 to 1598, in Portugal) though they also record difficulties in dating this edifice, especially as its latest incarnation as a chapel here was deconstructed by Leite de Vasconcellos in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Guerra et al. 2003:439, 470)

<sup>125</sup> Alfayé argues that there ‘ought to have been’ (debió de existir) some type of small chapel here which she links to the tombs as well as the inscription to the three Marias. She then argues that this was probably converted, in the modern epoch, into the church of Nuestra Sr<sup>a</sup>. de Piedra Escrita which is known from parochial documents (2009:144).

religious practices may well have gone on in an ephemeral manner, either in the open air or at pre-existing cult structures, although no material footprint of such activity remains. This would have existed alongside a nascent Christianization, which was expressed most emphatically in the villa sphere, and only later came to find a secure footing elsewhere in the rural environment.

## **h) Conclusion**

This chapter has sought to situate the varied, and often sparsely evidenced, cult sites of the Lusitanian countryside into the broader regional history. While various limitations constrain this effort, this type of analysis is nevertheless warranted as it reminds us not to view the cult spaces of this province as points on a flat and static map. The two dimensions of a map cannot account for what was in actuality a series of sacred spaces emerging and falling out of use, being renovated, and being converted.

The available archaeological evidence shows that the countryside responded to fluctuations in the wider regional fortunes. Personal dedications and monuments erected on private landholdings are difficult to conclusively link to these vicissitudes. Yet, the larger-scale sanctuaries, temples, shrines and altar clusters were certainly affected by them. Thus, in the two periods in which the greatest attention was paid to monumentalizing the urban centres, Augustan/Julio-Claudian and Flavian, we find some of the finest examples of cult installations being erected in the countryside. The Antonine and Severan periods saw a great distribution and popularization of the epigraphic habit across the empire that extended into the countryside and changed the face of the rural religious landscape. When times were volatile, such as during the initial Roman presence in the region or later from the third century onwards, evidence of rural cult activity diminished.

An equally important point, demonstrated through this analysis, is that the map of the Roman period rural (or urban) religious landscape of this province was far from a faithful imprint of what came before, or what would follow. In many cases, cult spaces were abandoned, or fell out of use for a time, with social and territorial changes that came with the Roman conquest, or with other periods of turmoil. The Roman period cult spaces of the Lusitanian countryside do not generally

overlie pre-Roman spaces of worship that are archaeologically traceable. Thus the narrative provided by the archaeological record, is one of change. It is vital to emphasize, however, that this does not mean that the general tenor of the pre-Roman belief system, in this location, changed significantly with the Roman conquest or thereafter. The large quantity of indigenous deities worshipped during the Roman period, coupled with a preference for worship that was intimately related to natural landscape – both of which will be illustrated in chapters five and three respectively – makes this clear.

In short, what begins to emerge in this chapter, and what will be further elucidated through the course of this thesis is a rural religious landscape that was very much a product of the Roman period in which it existed: different from the pre-Roman distribution of cult space, and intimately linked to the Roman period territorial infrastructure (chapter four). However, the beliefs held by the inhabitants of the Lusitanian countryside were quite possibly more tenacious and enduring than the evolving built sacred landscape.

## Part 2: Interaction

### III. Cult in Nature: Natural features and their role in the location and character of Lusitanian countryside cult sites

There is a well-known gilded silver patera which was found in central Lusitania. It depicts a goddess with the attributes of Tyché-Fortuna, and is inscribed to the regional deity Bandua Araugelensis (Marco 2001:214-216; Blanco 1959:453-9). The deity is depicted standing alone in the foreground on rough, rocky terrain, with what appears to be a pile of rocks to her right (fig.3.1). Four small altars are positioned next to her, also to her right, three of which are on fire. What appears to be a long, twisted tree trunk lies to her left. This patera belongs to the Calzadilla Collection, in the Archaeological Museum of Badajoz (Spain). It is often referred to as an example of syncretism because it depicts a Classical deity but invokes an indigenous god (Blázquez 1983:263, 303). However, the concern of this chapter is with the backdrop rather than the deity portrayed. The setting is clearly outdoors; the aforementioned natural features were probably included to reinforce this fact. And yet, the natural space is augmented by a collection of small votive altars.



Fig.3.1: Photo of the patera of the Calzadilla Collection, Badajoz (Marco 2005:310, fig.12, Museo de Arqueología de Badajoz)

This brings to mind a much later drawing of a circle of altars situated on a rocky promontory jutting out into the ocean. A sun is setting on the horizon (fig.3.2).

This picture was drawn by Francisco de Holanda in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and depicts the remains that were to be found on the western promontory of Alto da Vigia, Praia das Mães (on the Portuguese Atlantic coast close to Lisbon). Though this image appears rather fantastical, the location of this cult site of Sol and Luna is corroborated by ancient source references, three extant votive altars, and the notes of various early modern travel writers (C.1.2).<sup>126</sup> Francisco de Holanda, himself, describes the scene which he saw there:

And we saw at the mouth of the Colares River, owing to another time pertaining to the Romans, on a small hill, next to the Ocean, a circle all around filled with cippi and memorials of the emperors of Rome who came to that place; and each had erected a cippus with his inscription to Sol Aeternus and Luna, to whom that promontory was dedicated by those pagans (Francisco de Holanda, as quoted in Alves 1986:191 [my English translation of the quote]).<sup>127</sup>

It is true that a few of the travel writers also make brief reference to possible structural remains<sup>128</sup> next the coast; however, it is clear from the depiction, and is in keeping with the astral deities worshipped here, that an important component of this cult site was situated outside, in the open air, on the promontory overlooking the ocean.

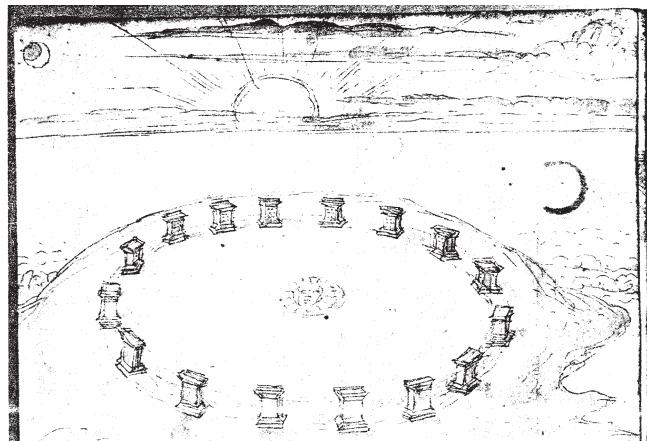


Fig.3.2: Excerpt from Francisco de Holanda's 16th century drawing of the Sol and Luna cult site (Alto da Vigia, Praia das Mães, Colares) (Segurado 1968: 115).

<sup>126</sup> See C.1.2 sources, for these early modern travel records. In respect to ancient sources, see C.3.2 which records that Ptolemy (*Geographia* 2.5.4) refers to the Serra de Sintra which towers over this promontory, as a mountain of Selene (Luna).

<sup>127</sup> "E vimos em a foz do rio Colares, prezada em outro tempo dos Romanos, sobre um pequeno outeiro, junto do mar Oceano, um círculo ao redor cheio de cipos e memórias dos imperadores de Roma que vieram àquele lugar; e cada um punha um cipo com seu letreiro ao Sol Eterno e à Lua, a quem aquele promontório foi dos gentios dedicados" (Francisco de Holanda, quoted by Alves 1986:191).

<sup>128</sup> See Cardim Ribeiro (2002b:235-237) for a discussion of these sources.

Notwithstanding possible artistic licence on behalf of their creators, these two depictions give an image of Lusitanian rural cultic activity as anchored to the local terrain and not necessarily requiring extensive structural elaboration. Such a hypothesis would help to explain the widely disproportionate ratio of votive inscriptions to actual cult sites found in rural Lusitania.<sup>129</sup> If votive inscriptions on rocks or altars were being utilized as a way to, as Marco has recently put it, ‘monumentalize’ what were in essence, natural or open air cult spaces, as in the two aforementioned examples, this might account for the discrepancy (2009:203, 208). The large clusters of altars found at Postoloboso, Sta. Lucía del Trampal, and Narros del Puerto, which either have no, or very little, evidence for associated ancient structural remains, could have been this type of open air, collective cult site.<sup>130</sup> The same type of open air worship might well have gone on around the aforementioned ‘Lusitanian’ rock inscription sites – which record sacrifices – and at rock sanctuaries, though built structures are indicated at certain of these sites.<sup>131</sup>

Even in instances when temples, shrines or other religious monuments were erected in the Lusitanian landscape, they were often located in unique, stunning or dominant natural positions. Their placement is indicative of the locals’ perceptions of symbolic significance within their natural environment. This is particularly true of rural cult sites, as they were not confined to a rigid plan in the same way as the temples of the urban centres. The locations of many rural cult sites can, therefore, be read as a map of the sacred landscape. This is precisely what this chapter will aim to do.

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<sup>129</sup> The large quantity of votive inscriptions found in rural Lusitania will be discussed in both chapters five and six (and see Appendix IV). Compare this to the catalogue of rural cult sites (especially those that were actually architecturally elaborated).

<sup>130</sup> All of these altar clusters were found built into later church structures and cannot be undeniably confirmed to be in their original location. Nevertheless there are various hints in the specific surrounding landscape of each site that argue that these altar clusters are either at, or in the immediate vicinity of, their original intended locations (see ‘justification’ line in each catalogue entry). Another altar cluster with no/no yet identified, cult edifice is that found at Quinta de S. Domingos (C.1.22). However, in this case, ample surface finds of tegulae and imbrices and some worked ashlar perhaps pertain to a cult structure (Correia Santos and Schattner 2010:95).

<sup>131</sup> At the rock sanctuary of Panóias, Gallaecia, for example, an associated structure is made clear by an inscription which records an aedes: *Diis Seve[r]is in hoc / templo lo[ca]t[i]s / aedem G(aius) [C(---) C]alp(urnius) Ru[finus] v(ir) [c(larissimus)]* (HEp 6, 1996, 1081). For more on this site see the analyses by Alföldy (1995:252-258; 1997:176-246). He argues for multiple aedes here, within the open air temenos. Also, the rock inscription at Cabeço das Fráguas is now believed to have been associated with a circular cult structure at the heart of the settlement (Correia and Schattner 2010; C.1.4).

### **a) Mountains and hills**

Hills and mountains extend up towards the divine, celestial sphere. For this reason, all across the Roman Empire, they were frequently looked upon as sacred ground.<sup>132</sup> So awe-inspiring were they, that worshippers were willing to make long and arduous treks to reach their lofty heights. On occasion they adorned these tremendous locations with temples and shrines. Other times they worshipped, on or near them, in the open air.

It is no surprise, then, that hills and mountains make up the locations of nearly half of the Lusitanian countryside cult sites.<sup>133</sup> This fact accords with other regions of the western Empire. In Britain and Gaul, for example, a clear tendency to locate sanctuaries on high ground has already been identified.<sup>134</sup> In Lusitania, these cult sites on high places range from sites of individual to widespread appeal, and from sacred mountains recorded in the ancient sources, to those attested by correspondence between modern place names and ancient deity names, to sites known through archaeological remains. Predictably, they are often located in the more mountainous regions of the province, though prominent elevations in the lowlands and plains also feature. These suggest that dominance and conspicuousness were important aspects of *terra sacra*. Where there are remains of cult edifices on hills or mountains, these are rarely situated on peaks, but instead they seem to favour slopes.<sup>135</sup> Such locations would have allowed for an extensive view over much of the surrounding terrain while also providing greater shelter from the winds.

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<sup>132</sup> See, for example, Penas Truque 1986:118-124 and Cook 1914:124ff. In respect to the Iberian Peninsula, for example, such cult has often been noted in north-western Tarraconensis (/Gallaecia), adjacent to Lusitania (Lourenço 1980:5-20; Lourenço and Rodríguez 1980:21-36; Rodríguez Colmenero 2002:33-38; Richert 2005:3-6), as well as Celtic Hispania (especially Celtiberia) (Alfayé 2009:26). Also see, in respect to Roman Gaul, Acolat 2008:111-126.

<sup>133</sup> To be more exact, 47% (21 out of 45) of all actual and possible non-urban cult sites, where it can be determined (1 not applicable), were located on hills and mountains (or were themselves 'sacred' hills or mountains).

<sup>134</sup> Fauduet records that the vast majority of the 'Romano-Celtic' temples in all the Gauls (653 in total), were located on dominant spots in the terrain (2010:28, 43). Brunaux notes that a large number of Gallic sanctuaries in northern France were located on dominant land, and Lewis records the same tendency for Roman temples in Britain (Brunaux 1996:66ff and Lewis 1966:130ff cf. Dowden 2000:275).

<sup>135</sup> There is no apparent pattern in directional preferences for these sites. One notable exception to this is the rock inscription and cult site on the top of the Cabeço das Fráguas (C1.4).



### **a.1) Sacred mountains mentioned in the ancient sources**

Ancient source references, though not numerous, make clear that the hills and mountains of the Lusitanian countryside – as elsewhere in the Roman Empire – were an important part of the local mythology of the landscape, and an appropriate dwelling for the gods. For example, Appian records that the legendary indigenous leader, Viriathus, camped his army on the mountain of Aphrodite (Iberike 64). Avienus, in his *Ora Maritima*, mentions a mountain of Zephyrus, in the south of Lusitania (225-227).<sup>136</sup> Moreover, both Columella (*De re rustica* 6.27.7)<sup>137</sup> and Varro (*De re rustica* 2.1.19)<sup>138</sup> refer to a sacred mountain, *mons sacer*, in western Lusitania (the modern Serra de Sintra, west of Olisipo). Ptolemy (*Geographia* 2.5.4) calls this same elevation the ‘mountain promontory of Selene’ (C.3.2).<sup>139</sup> Though these references are few, this is more an indication of the quantity and type of the sources available than of the sacredness of this terrain. Other forms of evidence corroborate the fact that these examples are representative of a wider custom of linking high places to the divine in rural Lusitania.

### **a.2) Mountains named after ancient deities**

On occasion deities worshipped on religious monuments exhibit the same, or similar, names to natural features with which they are in close association. In north-west Tarraconensis, for example, a deity denominated as both *Reve Laraucus* and *Deus Laraucus Maximus* was venerated next to the lofty Monte Larouco (Richert 2005:4, 20, 22, nos.36 and 57).<sup>140</sup> We can therefore assume that the mountain eventually came to be known by the name of the divinity that was once believed to reside there. In Lusitania, within the Sierra de Gata range, not far from the base of

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<sup>136</sup> See Appendix II, nos.12, 13.

<sup>137</sup> He relays a fable noted in various other sources that on this sacred mountain mares became impregnated by the wind though they then died after three years (also Varro, *De re rustica* 2.1.19; Justin, *Epitome* 44.3.1; Silius Italicus 3.379-381; Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 4.116 and 8.166).

<sup>138</sup> Vasconcellos argued that *Mons Tagro* in Varro is a corruption of the original which should have been *Mons Sagro* (/Sacro) (1905:30-1, 103 and footnote 4; Cardim Ribeiro 1982/3:166 and footnote 8).

<sup>139</sup> This attribution is generally accepted by most scholars. Vasconcellos, in contrast, identified the *Mons Sacer* with *Monsanto* in Lisbon, though Guerra points out that it is very difficult to find evidence of the origins of this name (upon which Vasconcellos rests his argument), and that the Serra de Sintra fits better with the account of the location given in the sources (2005:243; for the other ancient sources that speak of this mountain see footnote 31).

<sup>140</sup> See further deity name/mountain name correspondences, primarily from Gallaecia, in Richert 2005:3-5.

the Monte Jálama, a votive altar was found dedicated to the local god Salama (C.2.13). In a detailed study, Melena convincingly linked this deity-name to that of the mountain, which is recorded as ‘Jálama’ from Medieval times (Melena 1985:475ff; HEpOL 22843; García de Figuerola 1999:157-8, no.2). Thus, there is a direct link between the mountain and the god who was seen to inhabit it. Fittingly, Salama is evoked here as *Deus Optimus Salama* – the same titles often applied to Jupiter, Roman deity par excellence of mountain peaks. There are two other known Salama dedications, from Trujillo (ancient *Turgalium*)<sup>141</sup> and Ceclavín, Cáceres, neither of which qualify the deity in this manner (CPILC 557; 201). Therefore, only at the Monte Jálama, where the divinity was intimately linked to this high peak, were these epithets appropriate.<sup>142</sup> Three other inscriptions to Jupiter Optimus Maximus found within the general area help to elucidate the relationship between the Monte Jálama, Salama, and Jupiter, and so too the sacredness of the location (Salinas de Friás 2001:169).<sup>143</sup>

The Monte Jálama is the highest mountain in the Sierra da Gata: it is not insignificant that this was the mountain to become sacralized. Throughout this chapter we will see various examples in which it is the most dominant or outstanding natural feature in a specific landscape that is set out as *terra sacra*. This pattern is seen throughout the Empire. In Gaul, for instance, on the top of the highest summit of the northern Vosges, Donón, a cult site existed, including three relief sculptures depicting the Roman god *Silvanus* (Derks 1998:137). In Gallaecia, the aforementioned mountain of Larouco, (associated with the cult of *Reve Laraucus*), is

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<sup>141</sup> This altar is now lost and, according to Olivares, should be seen as an uncertain account (Olivares 2003:299 and footnote 15).

<sup>142</sup> Elsewhere the divinity was perhaps worshipped for other facets of his divine character. For example, certain authors have suggested an association between Salama and the Tormes River, therefore accepting an ‘aquatic’ aspect to his character (Blázquez 1962:188-9; 1975:146; and 1991:114, no.12 [with the dedication erroneously recorded as from Montánchez]). This theory is based on the fact that the oppidum there, *Salmantica* (which may have been named after the river) seems to reflect the divinity name. For more on this, see Sánchez Moreno 1997:130. Whether Salama was associated with the river or oppidum here, this association does not negate the possibility that the deity was seen to reside on the Monte Jálama as well.

<sup>143</sup> Salinas de Friás (2001:169) points out two inscriptions from Villamiel to Jupiter, though the second of these to *I(ovi) M(aximo) Deo Tetae* (Blázquez 1962:95; HAE 1950-2, no.410), has also been interpreted as to *I(nvicto) M(itrae) Deo Tetae* (CPILC 643). Considering the second inscription from the same location, to *Jupiter Optimus* (García de Figuerola 1999:no.6), the former interpretation seems more probable. Moreover, there is no evidence of a *mithraeum* here. A third inscription to *I.O.M.* comes from Robledillo de Gata, north-east of the mountain (Salinas de Friás 2001:169; HEpOL 20235; AE 1971, 149).

the highest and most dominant feature in the region (Olivares Pedreño 2005:626). This type of physical supremacy of a natural feature was one way for an ancient to look on his environment and distinguish the sacred and numinous from the profane.

### **a.3) Temples and shrines on mountains and hills**

In all of the above Lusitanian examples where literary sources, or correspondences between deity and place names, provide evidence for a connection between a divinity and a high place, no cult edifice has been found. This hints at a reverence for high places as the earthly abodes of divinities, in Roman Lusitania, that went on in the open air and is therefore archaeologically invisible. This is not to say that all cult sites on mountains or hills were without architectural remains, though. Others – not known through the above mentioned means – did include temples and shrines.



Fig.3.3: View of the hill of Cabeço das Fráguas (Photo E.A. Richert)

These constructed cult sites reiterate the holiness of high places. However, as Revilla has cautioned, we should be wary of equating mountain location to the motive and function for a sanctuary (2002:209). Certain cult sites were located on hill-tops or slopes, but also within or on the fringes of settlements (e.g. Cabeço das Fráguas (fig.3.3, above); Castro dos Três Rios; Laje do Adufe; Castro da Ucha; Castro de Mogueira) (C.1.4, 1.7, 1.17, 2.4). Their placement must therefore conform to the multiple needs of the community, and it is telling that the cult sites in these locations often appear to relate to tutelary deities of the populous. Even when cult sites were set apart from communities, on high places, various interpretations may

still be valid. For instance, Revilla records two cult sites in eastern Hispania, Santa Bàrbara and Muntanya Frontera, which were segregated from communities, and on high ground. He suggests that rather than simply relating to mountain cult, however, their lofty positions could reflect the intention to promote the sanctuaries' own importance and the prestige of the dependant community (2002:210). A similar interpretation could be argued for the large ashlar-masonry temple in central Lusitania, at Nossa Sr<sup>a</sup>. das Cabeças, Orjais (C.1.20) (fig.3.4). As will be shown in chapter four, a visual connection can be established between this temple's segregated, hill-slope location, and the important site of Centum Cellas (recently reinterpreted as a civitas capital).



Fig.3.4: Front of the podium of the temple of Nossa Senhora das Cabeças (Orjais) as it sits on the hill-slope (Photo E.A. Richert)

Location of a cult site on a mountain, therefore, does not necessarily indicate that so-called 'nature worship' was practised at that site, nor does it prove that the mountain itself held an enduring mythical or symbolic significance in the local mindset. This caution is applicable not only to cult sites in hill-top settlements but even those isolated on high places. Nevertheless, there is a counterweight to this argument. Just as we cannot assume 'nature worship' or cult of a deity resident in a mountain, as the absolute *raison d'être* for a sanctuary, we commit the reverse error by subtracting this possibility from the analysis. After all, we know that the ancient sources reflect the symbolic significance of various Lusitanian mountains. Moreover,



certain sites required such a considerable investment of energy to be erected on high places that this must surely reflect a deep-seated belief in the holiness of the location (even if other motivations also exist). As was noted in the introduction to this thesis, the temple of Piedras Labradas (Jarilla, Cáceres) was erected at over 1000 m above sea level on a plateau situated on a mountain slope (fig.3.5; C.1.11). A sign at the base of this hill informs hikers that this site takes approximately three hours to reach by foot, via a modern, windy path. That the worshippers were willing to take this effort in accessing the temple suggests the specific location held a powerful symbolic significance to them. This significance was no doubt enhanced by other outstanding features of the immediate terrain, such as various associated springs, which I will discuss further below.



Fig.3.5: The remains of the temple of Piedras Labradas, Jarilla (Photo courtesy of J. Río-Miranda Alcón).

Finally, we know that certain gods particular to specific high places were revered. This connection was shown above in the case of the god Salama and the Monte Jálama. The exclusive and prolific worship of the god Endovellicus on the hill-promontory of S. Miguel da Mota, in the conventus Pacensis, may be another instance in which a deity was seen to inhabit a particular high place. Had Endovellicus not been so intimately linked to this hill, his cult might well have

spread elsewhere.<sup>144</sup> In this case it is also notable that this hill-promontory stands out in the surrounding terrain of undulating plains, both due to its height and because of a river that wraps around its base (fig.3.6).



Fig.3.6: Google map showing the location of São Miguel da Mota and the Luciféce River

In sum, high places were an important location in the religious landscape of rural Lusitania. They were an ideal place to situate a cult site due to their dominance and conspicuousness in the landscape and their proximity to the celestial sphere. Certain hills and mountains were the specific haunt of one god or another, and written into the mythology of the landscape. These did not need elaboration: they stood out on their own and were essential markers in the local terrain. Others were adorned with cult places. Whatever myriad of reasons governed the choice of these

<sup>144</sup> It should be noted, though, that many authors have equated Endovellicus with the divinity Vaelicus from the sanctuary of Postoloboso, in the Conventus Emeritensis (Guerra 1993:144-146; Fernández Gómez 1973:228-231; Marco 1996:93-4 and 1999b:39; ERAv p.238). Cardim Ribeiro disagrees with this association, though, due to differences in the onomasty of the dedicators and votive formulas utilized, the slightly later chronology of the votive altars to Vaelicus, and the fact that no variant spelling of Endovellicus has the deity as 'Endovaelicus' (2002a:80). He later adapts this viewpoint slightly (2005:749) by admitting that, although the sanctuaries are in all respects different, both names may derive from uailo- (wolf) and relate to the sylvan character of the deity. A suggested link between Endovellicus and the place-name Andéballo (Huelva) has led researchers, most recently González Parilla, to purport a second cult nucleus of Endovellicus existed there (2004:299-303). Gimeno Pascual, nevertheless, notes that this place-name was a 17<sup>th</sup> century creation of Rodrigo Caro (2002:335). Cardim Ribeiro makes this and further arguments against González Parilla's assertion (2005:725, footnote 1).

cultic locations, considering what we know of the importance of mountains as abodes of the gods, the symbolic quality of the particular elevation is always one possible motivation.

## **b) Hot and cold springs**

Another natural feature with clear sacred connotations in the rural Lusitanian landscape was the hot or cold spring. Cult sites were built around these and votive inscriptions were erected next to them, making them the focus of cult.<sup>145</sup> Again, this is very much in keeping with the whole of the Empire. However, the connection between rural cult and springs appears to have been especially pronounced in Lusitania. This, no doubt, is a reflection of the particular terrain: numerous cold and thermal springs, with varying medicinal qualities, are found throughout the region (Calado 1995; Mora 1981:37-89; Frade 1993:873-915 and 1997:303-306; Alcalde 2000:319-330; Díez de Velasco 1987). These springs would have been a vital source of nourishment and healing. Their locations were surely well known to pastoralists, as well as local farm and villa inhabitants. For them, these springs are likely to have held special symbolic significance in their local landscape.

### **b.1) Springs as cult locus**

There are various ways to recognize the veneration of springs/spring deities by the rural inhabitants of Lusitania. On the one hand, these people left small votive altars and occasionally other symbolic items like statuettes, pins and, less frequently, coins, at their rural bath complexes. This is in keeping with Empire wide habits (see more in chapter six).<sup>146</sup> The rural baths at Montemayor (Cáceres), where a collection of 19 votive altars primarily dedicated to the nymphs were found, are a case in point (C.1.3). On the other hand, the evidence suggests that the rural Lusitanians adorned individual hot and cold springs – quite possibly on private land-holdings – very

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<sup>145</sup> Springs were associated with 37 % (17 out of 45) of the actual and possible cult sites which I have catalogued (with one site not applicable).

<sup>146</sup> The following non-urban baths of the province document such offerings: Baños de Montemayor, Caldas de Monchique, Caldas de Lafões (baths of S. Pedro do Sul), Retortillo, as well as the hot spring at Monte Real, and the possible cult site of Las Torrecillas (C.1.3, 1.5, 1.6, 1.12, 1.23). In chapter six the votive remains that relate to rural bath sites will be explored: these range from silver pins to votive altars, though the common practice of casting coins as votives into bath waters does not seem to have gained much currency in the region.

simply, by the addition of single or multiple altars to the deity manifest through the waters. In short, as Marco has said to be characteristic of much of western Hispania, the symbolic space of these springs was ‘monumentalized’ and immortalized, by little more than the addition of language (in this case, inscribed on the votive altar) (2009:203,208). For example, Vasconcellos recorded that a votive altar erected by Threptus the slave of Gaius Apuleius Silo to the Classical spring deity, Fontanus, was found next to a large spring in the conventus Pacensis (1913:620-1; C.2.8).<sup>147</sup> The inscription even records the reason for its erection, “ob aquas inventas”: for the discovery of [these] waters. It is quite possible that this is how this site appeared in Roman times: nothing more than an altar and a spring, perhaps belonging to a farm or villa. Other individual altars next to springs appear to reiterate this pattern.<sup>148</sup> As springs provided potable water, vital to the functioning of a villa or farm, the veneration of the deity who provided these waters was undoubtedly of great importance.

If there is any doubt that these preceding altars, located next to springs, may have been moved from their original locations, then let us look at a few other examples where the spring-to-deity link is unquestionable. In southern Lusitania a small spring in a Roman marble quarry was elaborated not by a votive altar, but by a bas-relief image of a masculine, Classical aquatic deity carved just above it (see fig.4.13, below) (C.1.15). This relief would have identified the spring as numinous without any structural elaboration, as was similarly accomplished by the above-mentioned placement of individual votive altars beside springs. Likewise, another spring bursting forth from a rocky outcrop in western Lusitania was elaborated simply by the inscription of an indigenous deity name on the natural rock directly above it (Fonte da Tigela, Sabugal, Portugal; C.1.13). This inscription has been interpreted as: Laneane / Tang(inus) F(ecit?). Just below this, water from a rocky spring flows through a crack in the rock outcrop and pools in a small oblong cavity (Curado 1987a:4 and 1987b:no.99; Osório da Silva 2000:no.32 and no.5 p.41; RAP

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<sup>147</sup> See footnote 60.

<sup>148</sup> For example: 1) Padre Espanca recorded that another altar to Fontana and Fontanus was found in the field of Vilares (Bencatel) at the foot of a spring (as cited in Vasconcellos 1913:256-257; C.2.9). Vasconcellos personally confirmed this spring’s existence; 2) an altar to Salus was set up by Catulus a slave of G. Atilius Cordus in the villa of Pisões (Beja, Portugal) (RAP no.427). The importance of water at this villa, which includes baths, a pool and a well, is amply attested (Gorges 1992/3). Salus may have been invoked here in conjunction with the healing properties of these waters.



no.573). We know very little about the goddess Laneana, and one might even wonder if this inscription is in fact votive. An interesting parallel exists, though. Quite far from here (c. 133 km as the crow flies), at Fuente de la Higuera (Torreorgaz, Cáceres, Spain), in the civitas of Norba, another rock inscription was made out to Laneana, which in turn was associated with a spring (C.1.14). This equally laconic inscription simply records: Laneanae S(acrum) (CPIL 510; Callejo Serrano 1965:22, no.10).<sup>149</sup> These two rock inscriptions parallel the aforementioned examples of single votive altars found next to springs, the rock-face acting as substitute for the altar.

It is tempting to assume that other springs of rural Lusitania may have been elaborated in a similar fashion. This is supported by the fact that many individual votive altars to spring deities have been found within the countryside sphere of this province. These were dedicated to Salus, Fons, Fontanus, Aquae (Sacrae), and the Nymphs (see chapter five). Other indigenous deities, like Laneana, whose precise natures are not well understood, may also have been considered to reside in such magical and therapeutic waters. Moreover, there are clear correspondences between the find-spots of the altars to known spring deities, and the regions of the province which are rich in this resource. For example, the fourth most revered Classical deity in rural Lusitania was Salus, whose worship centred on eastern Lusitania, especially Cáceres, a region notorious for its natural and therapeutic springs.<sup>150</sup> In fact, Haba and Rodrigo have devoted various studies to the numerous thermal and medicinal springs of this region; they note a range of correspondences that exist between these and certain unexcavated ancient remains, occasionally votive altars (1986:43-55; 1990; 1992). Only survey and excavation will elucidate these connections, but it appears reasonable to assume that these springs were sacred markers in the local landscape, and worshipped in varying ways. Similarly, in the conventus

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<sup>149</sup> It is possible that this sacred site reached beyond the point where the spring bubbled out of the earth, even though there is no structural material to suggest this. This is suggested by a second inscription that exists on a parallel rock at this site, which reads: Locus + / constus / in circum / pedes CL (HEpOL 15150; Callejo Serrano 1965:no.10). Correia Santos interprets this as a record of the circular area of sacred space around the spring (2010c:135). Of course, this may also delineate secular land or property, nevertheless, the hypothesis of a circular temenos space is attractive, and requires further study (e.g. survey of the area; analysis of botanical remains therein). The fact that the spring may have been centrally located in a temenos is an indication of the importance and centrality that water and water sources could hold within cult space.

<sup>150</sup> Eleven of the sixteen dedications to this deity from Lusitania were found in Cáceres (see Appendix IV).

Scallabitanus, in the Portuguese council of Mação which is particularly rich in mineral springs, a dedication was made to Fons at a Roman period rural town located around the church of Senhora da Moita, Galega,<sup>151</sup> and another to the sacred waters, *Aquae Sacrae*, at Mação proper (HEpOL 7276, 23405). In other words, in this specific spring-rich region, the divinities of choice were once again, naturally, those that were seen to provide this important resource.

## **b.2) Springs with associated cult sites**

Another indication of the religiosity of springs is their common association with temples and sanctuaries throughout the Empire; this can be observed on occasion in rural Lusitania as well. However, in the Lusitanian cases of this phenomenon there is no evidence that votive offerings were actually placed within these springs. This may simply be because ephemeral offerings of food and wine were being offered instead. The ancient sources record such a practice, as well as the lighting of lamps next to springs which equally may have left little trace.<sup>152</sup>

Occasionally, springs in the immediate surroundings of certain cult sites were elaborated by the addition of large stones that would have marked them out and encased their flow of water. In the case of the aforementioned mountain-temple of Piedras Labradas (Jarilla), Río-Miranda records that a spring, circa 230 meters from the temple, was partially encircled in a series of irregular rocks, intentionally arranged around it in a moon-shape (personal correspondence with Río-Miranda). A few sherds of Campanian ware as well as two Republican and two early Imperial coins were found about a meter away from this spring, and argue for its utilization during the Roman period, possibly in connection with the temple here (C.1.11).<sup>153</sup> Similarly, recent archaeological work at the Quinta de S. Domingos (at the base of the hill of Cabeço das Fráguas, NW conventus Emeritensis) – where a collection of altars were found built into a later chapel – brought to light a spring source that was surrounded by worked ashlar, a few hundred meters north-west of the chapel

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<sup>151</sup>For remains from this Roman period, rural town see Batata (2002:Vol.2, no.121).

<sup>152</sup>For example: Sozomen, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 2.4 (see chapter six where this is quoted).

<sup>153</sup>These details come from Río-Miranda and Iglesias (2004:no.350), and through personal communication with Río-Miranda. He also informed me that this spring still flows today and that there are uptakes of it to supply nearby towns. For the coins and few ceramic sherds found near the spring, see C.1.11.

(C.1.22; Correia Santos and Schattner 2012:93, fig.3). Though the excavators, Correia Santos and Schattner, say this structure has been subsequently refurbished, they date its original construction to the Roman period (fig.3.7) (Correia Santos and Schattner 2010:94-95). The effort in elaborating the springs at these two cult sites is an indication of their perceived importance, no doubt both in the utilitarian and ideological realms.



Fig.3.7: Roman period spring from the Quinta de S. Domingos (Correia Santos and Schattner 2010:95, fig.6, DAI J. Fernández)

Abundant springs are also noted in the vicinity<sup>154</sup> of the altar cluster of Sta. Lucía del Trampal and especially in the adjacent region of Montánchez (C.1.25; Caballero and Sáez 1999:12-13; García-Bellido 2001:55; Haba and Rodrigo 1991:23). A spring or well with ashlar on four sides, similar to that at Quinta de S. Domingos, was recorded by Mélida, 2.2 meters north-west of the putative Roman

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<sup>154</sup> Various other water sources were also located in the fertile surrounding land, including small streams and ponds: e.g. the Charca de Santiago 500m to the south-east, and further afield, the thermal spring at the Balneario El Trampal, c.8 km westwards (MTN 1:25000: 752.2; Caballero and Sáez 1999:12-13).

temple at Fuentidueñas (C.2.10) (1924:164).<sup>155</sup> Numerous other sites are rumoured to have had associated springs which have now dried up. For example, Vasconcellos records springs at the base of the hill of São Miguel da Mota, where the important sanctuary of Endovellicus existed (C.1.27; Vasconcellos 1905:125).<sup>156</sup> At Vendas de Cavernães, a 17<sup>th</sup> century source recorded remains of a possible temple/tower, and two altars to Lurunis (dative = Luruni), associated with a spring.<sup>157</sup> Finally, we might be tempted to envisage a spring in relation to a small cluster of altars from Sta. Eulália, Repeses, due to the fact that one of the altars records a fonte (C.2.16) (Vaz 1990a:no.158). These examples highlight the common correspondence between evidence of cult space and springs in rural Lusitania. As more of this region becomes the focus of archaeological study, and especially survey, these associations will become better understood, and the profound significance of mineral-medicinal, therapeutic, and potable cold spring waters in the local worship will undoubtedly become clearer.

### **c) Waterways and river confluences**

In the Graeco-Roman and Celtic traditions alike waterways, confluences and river sources were often venerated as a divine abode.<sup>158</sup> Worship of such deities as Tiberinus of the Tiber; Danuvius of the Danube; Rhenus pater of the Rhine; or closer

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<sup>155</sup> Mérida (1924:164): “The only thing which can be seen nearby the temple and which could relate to it is, at 2.20 m to the NW, a square construction made of squared, granite ashlar, 2.11m on the sides and 0.45 m thickness, which although blocked today, seems to be the parapet of a spring/well, which could have been sacred” (my translation). Original quote: “Lo único que se ve inmediato al templo y que pueda tener relación con él, es a 2’20 metros al N.O. una construcción de sillería granítica, cuadrada, de 2’11 por lado y 0’45 metros de espesor, que si bien cegada hoy, parece brocal de fuente, pudiendo haberlo sido sagrada.”

<sup>156</sup> These springs are recorded as probable by Cardim Ribeiro (2002a:83 and 2005:726).

<sup>157</sup> This source is M. Botelho Ribeiro Pereira, *Diálogos, Moraes e Politicos*, as quoted in Alvelos 1952:263. He records: “A tower or temple would have guarded or corresponded to the site of our castle, the ruins of which [temple/tower] can be seen on a plain located before one arrives at Vendas de Cavernães next to a spring, which would represent some tower or temple of a gentilitas as is shown by clues that were found which include a large stone basin or font, columns pieces and worked stones, and inscriptions...” (quoted in Alvelos 1952:263, my translation). Original quote: “Com este nosso Castelo se devia de atalaiar ou ter correspondencia uma torre ou templo, cujas ruínas se veem em um plaino que está antes que chegemos às Vendas de Cavernães junto de uma fonte, que representavam ser de alguma torre ou templo da gentilidade como mostram os sinais que se acharam qual foi uma pia ou fonte de pedra muito grande, pedaços de colunas e pedras lavradas, e letreiros [inscrições]...” (as recorded in Alvelos 1952:263).

<sup>158</sup> See, for instance: Brill’s New Pauly ‘River Gods’; Brewster 1997; Dowden 2000:51-55; Vasconcellos 1905:224 ff; Alberro 2002:22-25.

at hand, Durius of the Douro River, are all testaments of this reality.<sup>159</sup> In fact, depictions, dedications, and cult sites relating to river deities are so prolific in both Celtic and Roman contexts that the sacrality of waterways is a well appreciated motif. However, not every inch of river water in the Roman orbit was sacralized. Pliny the Younger, who tells of how various *sacella* are scattered on the banks of the Clitumnus river, also notes that a bridge separated sacred from profane sections of this river (Epistulae 8.8).<sup>160</sup> This indicates that the ancients may have been quite precise about where the divinity resided. The question is how we might appreciate this, especially in the context of Lusitania. Rivers or streams are in view of almost two-thirds of the cult sites and monuments of this thesis' catalogue.<sup>161</sup> Were these all considered to hold an ideological significance? After all, there is obvious practicality, as well, in locations near to waterways; communities, farms and villas would all have profited from locations close to rivers.

One way to determine the existence of river cult is through votive offerings found cast into river waters: a phenomenon evidenced in many parts of the Empire and often related to significant points like river crossings and confluences.<sup>162</sup> Roman Lusitania, however, has turned up very little evidence of such a practice. An altar to Aquis Eletesibus was found, in rural Lusitania, at the precise point of a thermal spring feeding into the river Yeltes (Fita 1913:543-545; C.1.23).<sup>163</sup> This, and coins found during the same construction work that brought the altar to light, may have been intended to sit in or, more probably, next to this river. Similarly, a deposit of oil lamps found on the rural property of Horta das Faias, north-west of Pax Iulia, is situated 35 meters from an ancient stream bed (Viana 1956:124; C.1.16). In either case, votive material is evidenced in close association with rivers, though probably not intended to be deposited therein. There is always the possibility that lack of

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<sup>159</sup> For example: Tiberinus (CIL VI 773; CIL XI 4644); Danuvius (CIL III 5863 and 10395); Rhenus Pater (CIL XIII 5255); Durius (CIL II 2370)

<sup>160</sup> "...quod ponte transmittitur. Is terminus sacri profanique. In superiore parte navigare tantum, infra etiam natare concessum." For other examples of sacred portions of rivers marked out by temples, altars or cult images see 'River Gods' in Brill's New Pauly.

<sup>161</sup> 62 % (28 out of 45) of the catalogue sites (actual and possible), where it can be told, were located in view of a river.

<sup>162</sup> The practice of casting votives into rivers was common in various 'Celtic' contexts, especially Gaul, as well as in the Graeco-Roman world (Dowden 2000:55-57; Bradley 1990).

<sup>163</sup> For more on this altar and the coins found with the Aquae Eleteses altar, see chapter six, section b.1.

evidence for Lusitanian votive deposition in rivers is due to the difficulty in identifying and recovering riverine material. After all, this practice was not completely alien to the peninsula. More than 3000 coins of the early Imperial period and diverse metal objects (now lost), for instance, were found along the course of the Burejo River where it runs through Herrera de Pisuergra (Palencia), after this was rerouted (Alfayé 2009:336). Whatever the reason for the lack of evidence of this practice in Lusitania, there are still other indicators of the reverence for waterways; for the particular consecration of confluences; and for the mythical significance that these rivers may have held for the locals.

### **c.1) Confluences**

The best evidence of river-deity worship from Lusitania comes from the urban context, Augusta Emerita, and relates to a river confluence. On a lintel that would have sat over the door of a mausoleum, in this city, two personified river gods are depicted. Both have their names inscribed next to them: one is the great Anas (Guadiana River) and the other, one of its tributaries, the Barraeca (Albarregas River) (fig.3.8). The confluence of these two rivers is situated within the ancient city and most likely would have been a place of worship (as is implied by the rivers' personification as deities on this lintel).<sup>164</sup> What is interesting to note is that the deities of these two rivers are also evidenced, combined into one deity, Revve Anabaraecus, on a votive inscription found circa 50 km north-east of Emerita in Ruanes (Canto et al. 1997:266-288; CIL II 685; CPILC 422).<sup>165</sup> Another dedication from the town of Turgalium was made out to Baraecus. As Canto et al. argue, this may actually have been intended for the same god (Revve Anabaraecus), since the top lines of the inscription are missing (1997:277; CIL II 5276). The Reve/Revve component fits well with the veneration of a confluence, since this is an indigenous theonym that is often considered to derive etymologically from a term for rivers or

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<sup>164</sup> Canto et al. suggest that a sanctuary of this river confluence cult might have existed on the western side of Mérida at the hill of el Calvario, where bronze votives and other finds speak to possible ritual activity, or on another hill, in the eastern area of the theatre-amphitheatre group at Barriada de la República Argentina, also where remains have been found which might be considered religious (1997:283-286).

<sup>165</sup> See Canto et al. (1997:278-9) on this subject; they agree with Villar in hypothesizing that the Reve/Reve component of these deity-names, and many others from Lusitania and Gallaecia, signified 'river.' They argue that examples can be found in which Reve refers both to rivers and to confluences.

waterways (Villar 1994-5:247-255; Marco 1999:155-156). These dedications argue that a cult of this confluence existed, surely centred in a sanctuary at the confluence-point, in Emerita, and that the fame of this cult spread further than the capital.



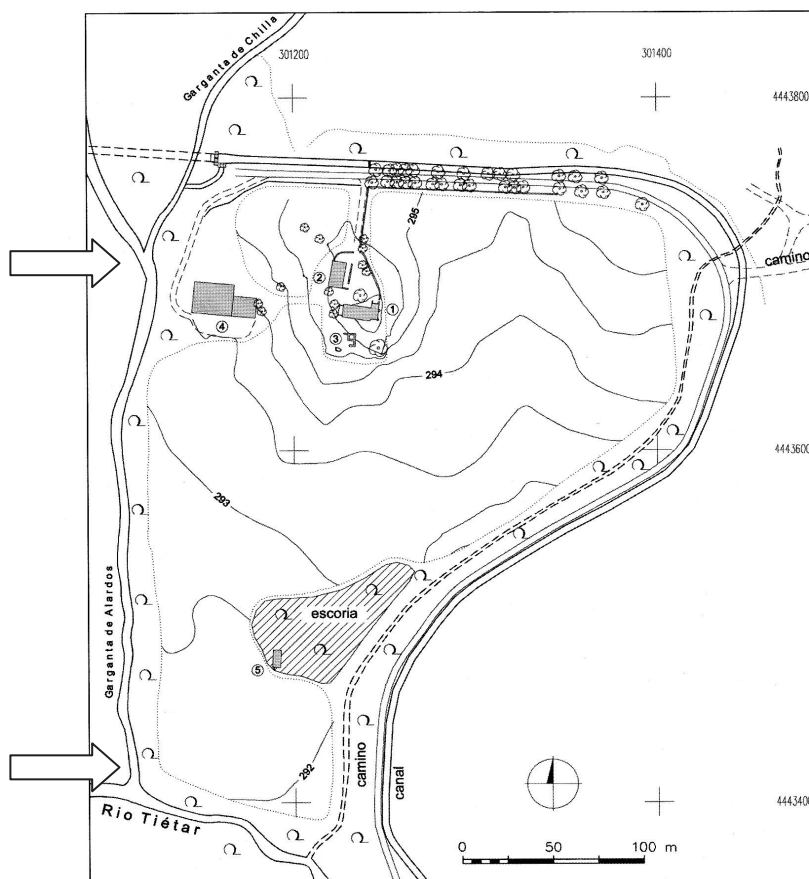
Fig.3.8: Lintel of the Rivers (Dintel de los Ríos), Mérida (Canto et al. 1997:266, fig.8).

The correspondence between cult and confluence is not so literally spelled out at the altar cluster of Postoloboso (Ávila, eastern conventus Emeritensis), but the location is suggestive (fig.3.9a) (C.1.21). The site is part of an 8 hectare fluvial terrain. To the west it is bordered by a mountain river, the Garganta de Alardos; this converges with the Garganta de Chilla at the north-western corner of the terrain next to the edifices into which the altars were built. At the south-west corner of this parcel of land, there is another confluence, where these two rivers (as the Garganta de Alardos) meet the great Rio Tiétar. Together then, they flow as one into the large reservoir of Rosarito (MTN 1:25,000: 600.2; Schattner et al. 2007:76-78).<sup>166</sup> This equates to two river confluences in close vicinity to the altar cluster and a notable general abundance of water. Sánchez Moreno thus argues: "...in this very idyllic spot water plays an essential, ideological role as a manner of defining a sacred territory" (1997:135 [my translation]).<sup>167</sup> He also suggests that the two watercourses (the Alardos and Chilla) may have created a symbolic link between the cult site of Postoloboso and the elevated hill-top settlement of El Raso on the mountain behind it (fig.3.9b) (1997:136). Though the settlement of El Raso was abandoned by the time the votive altars were erected at Postoloboso, it is very possible that the inhabitants of that community would have trekked down to this magnificent confluence and worshipped there before anyone chose to leave a lasting, stone testament of their

<sup>166</sup> Currently, a man-made canal circumscribes the eastern and northern sides of this area, though it is not clear if there may have been a stream here in antiquity.

<sup>167</sup> "...en este marco tan preciso el agua juega un papel ideológico esencial como vía definidora de un territorio sacro."

devotion there. The bond between the settlement and cult site –marked out by these rivers – is also supported by the fact that the god worshipped at Postoloboso, Vaelicus, was recorded on an altar found in this settlement (ERAv 2005:no.164).



*Fig. 2. Plano del terreno examinado, con el santuario del dios Vaelicus y los edificios recientes: 1 Capilla/Ermita del Bienaventurado San Bernardo, 2 Vivienda, 3 Horno de ladrillo en ruinas, 4 cobertizo para maquinaria, 5 granero seco.*

Fig 2. Plan of the terrain examined, with the sanctuary of Vaelicus and the modern buildings: 1 Chapel of Bienaventurado San Bernardo, 2 Housing, 3 Brick oven in ruins, 4 machinery shed, 5 dry granary (my translation: Schattner et al. 2007:78, fig.2)

Fig.3.9a: Plan of the buildings and terrain at Postoloboso, with detail of the associated rivers and two confluences (Schattner et al. 2007:78, fig.2).





Fig.3.9b: View from the hill of El Raso towards the confluence by Postoloboso  
(Photo E.A. Richert)

Similarly, the Castro dos Três Rios (NW conventus Emeritensis), as the name implies, was located adjacent to the confluence of the Sasse stream, Pavia River and Asnês River (fig.3.10) (CMP 1:25000, 188; C.1.8). Clearly, the location of the settlement in this water-rich area would have obvious, practical grounds. Yet, Vaz notes that the two hill-top settlements in its immediate vicinity – both in more elevated and defensible positions, and still in proximity to abundant water-sources – were abandoned during the Roman period, while this site continued to be inhabited (1995b:105-106). Therefore, it could not only have been visibility and defence that motivated the positioning. Nor is it insignificant that this site's votive rock inscription to deities denominated 'Peinticis' (dative)<sup>168</sup>, with rock cut stairs and basins, was located on the hill-slope facing southeast towards the very point where the three waterways meet. This could reflect the fact that this confluence was revered by the locals (Vaz 1995b:106). It is then plausible, as Vaz has argued, that the religiosity of the location was one of the factors that motivated the continuation of this settlement in the place of the others (ibid). Even if we do not accept this hypothesis, though, the orientation of the rock sanctuary towards the confluence is still an important clue to understanding what was considered sacred in the terrain.

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<sup>168</sup> L(ucius) Manlius D(ecimi) f(ilius) tr(ibu) Aemilia / a(nimo) l(ibens) m(erito) v(otum) s(olvit) Peinticis // CEIO? Tiusgi (filio)? / Tureius (HEpOL 23177).

The centrality of the hill within the ring of rivers fits well with what Correia Santos terms a “symbolic conception of sacred space and of centre” which she asserts is apparent in this case, as well as certain earlier cultic locations from the region (2010c:136).

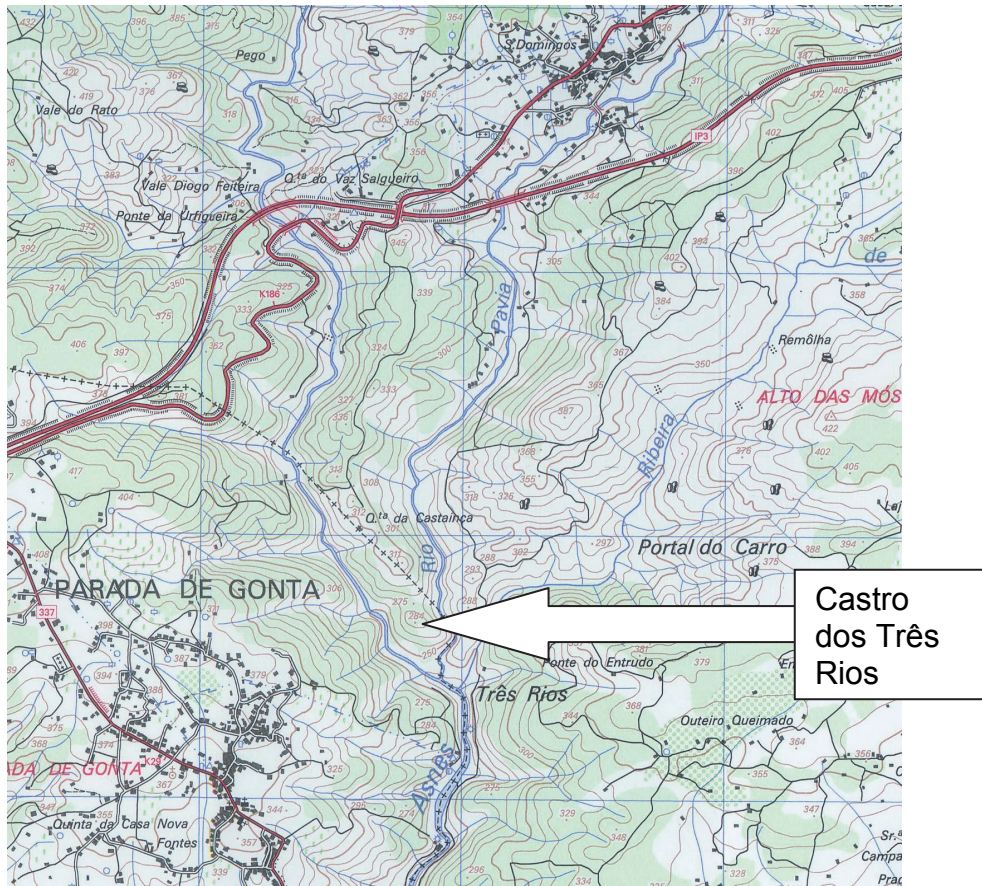


Fig.3.10: Location of the Castro dos Três Rios facing a river confluence (CMP 1:25000, 188; Marques 2003:143).

## c.2) Waterways

The preceding Lusitanian examples offer a glimpse of the divinization of water confluences, which like that of all natural features may well have gone on without leaving a trace. It is amply possible, for example, that whole rivers could have formed part of the local mythology. We know one such case from Lusitania’s neighbour to the north, Gallaecia. Livy recounts that the Limia River in this region was denominated a river ‘of forgetfulness’ (Latin, Oblivio; Greek, Lethe) just like that in the underworld (Periochae 55). He says that its notoreity as such caused the troops of Decimus Junius Brutus, who were raging through Lusitania and the north-west, some significant trepidation. They refused to cross it, and Brutus had to wade

in first to calm their nerves (ibid).<sup>169</sup> The link between the Limia River and the Graeco-Roman Lethe/Oblivio<sup>170</sup>, as was understood by these soldiers, suggests that the river may well have held a widely known ethonic significance in the local mythology.

A similar proposition has been made, by Cardim Ribeiro, about the Luciféce river which borders the south and western side of the crest of S. Miguel da Mota, home to the important sanctuary of Endovellicus (see fig.3.6 above, C.1.27).<sup>171</sup> On first glance the deity-name, Endovellicus, does not seem to relate to the river denomination, Luciféce. This latter name is Arabic in derivation, containing the root –oucif = black (Cardim Ribeiro 2002a:82; 2005:745 with further references). However, this may be a simple translation of an earlier Latin hydronym, retaining the same connotation. This is the argument made by Cardim Ribeiro who relates the river name to the otherwise unidentified, atrum flumen, from the Antonine Itinerary (418,2) – atrum, being the Latin neuter adjective meaning ‘black’ (2005:745-747). Therefore the meaning of Luciféce, and perhaps its Latin antecedent atrum flumen, has clear chthonic undertones, similar to other mythological infernal rivers of antiquity (Cardim Ribeiro 2005:747 with examples). The Luciféce may accordingly have been an important symbolic component to this cult of Endovellicus: a deity with often cited infernal characteristics (Lambrino 1951:120-137). This atrum flumen may well have existed in the local mythology of the landscape, just like the flumen oblivio of Gallaecia.

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<sup>169</sup> This is also quoted and discussed in Dowden (2000:55) in his wider discussion of sacred rivers (51-55), as well as Alberro (2002:24) and Vasconcellos (1905:225-233). Other ancient authors to mention this river and the fables associated with it: Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 4.115; Florus, 1.33.12; Silius Italicus *Punica* 1.235-236; and Appian, *Iberike* 71. Strabo (3.3.5), however, records a different story about the river. He notes that the people from the region of the Anas (Guadiana) made an expedition there, along with the Turdulians. After crossing this river they quarreled. For this reason, and as their chieftain also died, they dispersed and settled and did not return home. Strabo sees this as the origin of the name, the river ‘of forgetfulness’.

<sup>170</sup> Vasconcellos deals with this question in length (1905:225-233).

<sup>171</sup> In chapter three I will discuss the possible liminal significance of this river, as has been put forth by Cardim Ribeiro (2005). If the river was in fact an important regional boundary, this may have implications towards its symbolic character.





Fig.3.11: View along the Roman Bridge at Alcántara (Cáceres) towards the aedicula at its southeast end (Photo E.A. Richert)

Consequently, in answer to this section's initial query, the evidence suggests that proximity of a cult site to a river could have held sacred significance in the local mindset. The waterways that cordoned off certain temenos spaces – like the pasture of Postoloboso – were perhaps natural boundaries dividing profane from sacred. These could be written into the local folklore as divisors between the human realm and the underworld. The precise location of shrines, temples and monuments next to rivers might signify areas of exceptional sacredness: for instance, the small aedicula at Alcántara marked out and sacralized the river crossing (fig.3.11) (C.1.1); the inscriptions on the rock-face at the base of the hill of the Castro de Mogueira looked onto the Douro River (C.1.7); and, the aforementioned rock sanctuary of Três Rios faced a river confluence. Finally, certain deities testify to the veneration of waterways, as was evidenced by Reve Anabaraecus' connection to the river confluence in Augusta Emerita. This god was probably one of many river deities or numina acknowledged throughout the Lusitanian terrain. Both of the well-attested, western Hispanic, indigenous deities, Nabia and Reve (alone), for example, have

been argued to hold special links to river environments (Marco 1999:156).<sup>172</sup> These correspond well with the sacralization of waterways suggested by the placement of the Lusitanian countryside cult sites.

#### **d) Rocks**

Much of northern and eastern Lusitania is made up of rough terrain, dotted with large, coarse and majestic rock outcrops. These immense natural features were manipulated in antiquity in a variety of ways. Rock cut installations which may relate to ritual activities are particularly characteristic of western Hispania (see fig.2.1 above) (Benito and Grande 1992; 2000). On account of this connection between rocks and possible cult spaces, it is often argued that rocks held special symbolic significance to the pre-Roman populi.<sup>173</sup> This would fit well with propositions that the indigenous deity name, Trebopala, found on the rock inscription at Cabeço da Fráguas, derives from the radical \*pal or \*pel denoting stones or rocks (Marco 1999:153; C.1.4).<sup>174</sup>

Of course, this sacralizing of stones took place in various ancient traditions.<sup>175</sup> Take for instance the Phoenician tradition of betyl worship; this type of worship is vividly portrayed in the Bible when Jacob set up a large rock and poured a libation of olive oil over it, determining it to be the abode of God (Genesis 28.18, 22).<sup>176</sup> In the Graeco-Roman world the god Terminus protected boundary stones, which consequently took on a sacred significance. He was worshipped in a festival in February (Ovid *Fasti* 2.639-684). Prudentius refers to the pagan practice of decorating a boundary stone and offering sacrifices at it (*Contra Symmachum*

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<sup>172</sup> See Marco 1999:155-157 for more on Reve and Nabia and various other indigenous deity names from western Hispania which relate to hydronyms. Also see the Laje de Adufe, in this thesis' catalogue (C.1.17), which is a rock inscription to Nabia Musticana that Carvalho records as near to what he terms a small line of water ("uma pequena linha de água") (2007:199, no.110).

<sup>173</sup> For more on the sacred importance of rocks in pre-Roman western Hispania see: Bonnaud 2006:203-4; Benito and Grande 1992 and 2000; Monteagudo 2003.

<sup>174</sup> See more on the full interpretation of this deity-name and cross references in Marco 1999:153. Marco also notes that Toudopalandaiga, a component of the deity denomination, Munidis Eberobriga, also from Lusitania, has the same pal- component (CPILC 471).

<sup>175</sup> For a detailed exploration of 'betyl' worship throughout Hispania and the ancient world, see Seco (2010).

<sup>176</sup> This reference is mentioned by Benito and Grande (2000:28) in their discussion of rock sanctuaries, and by Salinas de Frías (1988:137) and Barata (1997:124) in reference to the ritual at the Cape of St. Vincent (see below). Marco (1999:152) refers to Semitic worship of betyls, as well as certain other examples of holiness attributed to specific stones.

2:1006-1008). Other stones that were not on boundaries, but central to cult spaces, were also venerated. For instance, Livy recounts that the natives of Pessinus, in Phrygia, worshipped a stone that they considered to be Cybele; the Romans took this to Rome (Livy 29.11.7). Finally, it is probable that certain unique rocks in the landscape or on private properties, even if they were not in border locations, may have held sacred implications. In correspondence with this is Apuleius' criticism of Aemilianus whose rural property did not have a single anointed stone or garlanded tree (Apologia 56.6). All these examples stress the numinous importance of certain stones; inform our appreciation of rocks in other cult spaces; and remind us to suspend our modern, secular view of the landscape while studying ancient religiosity.

#### **d.1) Rocks as cult locus**

There remains a significant leap of judgment, however, between seeing a rock such as that described in the Bible, or that which Livy recounts, as sacred, and viewing the rock or bedrock manipulated into the so-called 'rock sanctuaries' of western Hispania as, itself, a divine abode. In other words, just because the Lusitanians (and people of western Hispania) and their ancestors built cult sites out of stone does not mean that they worshipped stones or even perceived these to be the earthly homes of their deities. We cannot know this. However, what we can note, and what is of significance to our understanding of this phenomenon, is that rocks manipulated into cult sites tended to be unique or special in various ways. They may be especially prominent in the terrain (Cenicientos), situated in pronounced central positions within a settlement (Cabeço das Fráguas), or located next to other important natural features such as rivers (Castro de Mogueira) or river confluences (Castro dos Três Rios) (C.1.4, 1.7-9).



Un vecino, fotografiado ante la Piedra Escrita de Cenicientos.

Fig.3.12: Photograph from a newspaper article of the rock of Cenicientos. The man sitting in front demonstrates the immense size of the rock (El País 10-14-95).

The rock at Cenicientos, shown above, had a niche carved into it with three figures (probably worshippers) depicted around an altar. It stands on a little hillock looking out towards the valley of the Tagus River (by the eastern border of the conventus Emeritensis) (C.1.9). The rock is both dominant in its position and in its size (fig.3.12). There are few Roman period remains found or observed within its vicinity. This leads researchers to believe that it was not part of a settlement of any sort (Canto 1994:280-1). Thus, it would have stood, much as it does today, alone and prevailing in the surrounding landscape. In the same way, the rock at Lamas de Moledo (north-western Lusitania), with its Lusitanian votive inscription, is especially noteworthy for its immense size (fig.3.13; C.1.18). Other rocks chosen for sanctuaries often had characteristics or dimensions which made them suitable for such a designation.



Fig.3.13: The inscribed rock of Lamas de Moledo with this author included for scale  
(Photo E.A. Richert)

The individual quality of a given stone may also have determined its selection as a cult site or monument. For instance, many rock sanctuary sites include naturally occurring cavities and hollows along with their artificially rock-hewn installations. Perhaps this was part of the reason for their utilization as places of worship. In regards to prehistoric northern Portugal, Bradley notes:

...prehistoric paintings were often created on rocks that contained an unusual amount of natural quartz, whilst in Cáceres in south-west Spain they were produced on surfaces with a striking natural colour: a reddish-yellow that does not occur widely in the surrounding area (2000:66, citing L. Alves personal communication; García Arranz 1990).

Thus, in roughly the region of eastern Lusitania, in prehistoric times, there may have been certain qualities governing the choice of a rock for elaboration, just as may have occurred in Roman times.

Placement within the context of the community was also an important factor governing the choice of rocks to be made into cult space. For instance, Correia Santos has recently stressed the fact that the important ‘Lusitanian’ language, rock inscription from the hill of Cabeço das Fráguas (NW conventus Emeritensis), was



located at precisely the centre of the sub-circular hill-top arena (2010c:135). She relates this to other pre-Roman examples which suggest an indigenous predilection towards centrality of places of worship. Therefore, placement and quality of a rock were meaningful indicators that governed whether cult activities would take place on or next to these rocks.

#### **d.2) Rocks in cultic ritual**

Finally, there is one important example from Lusitania in which rocks are more than the locus of cult, or the medium out of which a cult site was created. This is the above-mentioned Cape of St. Vincent (Cabo São Vicente, SW corner of Portugal); here rocks were a central part of the ritual activity (C.3.1). Of course, we would never have known this if it were not for the ancient sources; this is a clear reminder of how limited our interpretations of natural cult sites must be without contemporary records to elucidate them. Fortunately, Strabo recorded what Artemidorus witnessed when he journeyed to this cape. Evidently he had expected to find a temple of Hercules, but instead witnessed a local ritual wherein large groups of rocks were turned and had water libations poured over them (Strabo 3.1.4). This happened during the day as the site was inviolable at night, when it was thought to be inhabited by deities. Such 'inviolable' sites were often kept holy by a lack of human manipulation.<sup>177</sup> Therefore, the very natural sacred spots that were most sacred or revered may also have been those which are absolutely indistinguishable in the archaeological record.

Cape St. Vincent, consequently, makes us reassess what we really know about any natural cult site. How many other rocky promontories were the theatres of such rituals? For instance, a cylindrical granite betyl is recorded to have been situated in the open space in front of the chapel of Postoloboso, where an important altar cluster to Vaelicus was found (C.1.21) (Fernández Gómez 1986:965; Seco 2010:278-282). Perhaps this rock also held a role in the local ritual, or was

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<sup>177</sup> In Italy no boats were allowed on the Lake Vadimon as it was sacred (Pliny, *Epistulae* 8.20). Similarly, it was sacrilege to mine a certain mountain in Gallaecia with iron implements (Justin 44.3.6). Strabo (3.3.7) records that among the mountain people of northern Iberia, those who had committed parricide were stoned far away from mountains and rivers. Many authors interpret this as a reference to the inherent, inviolable quality of these natural features (Marco 2005:316).

considered as divine.<sup>178</sup> Cape St. Vincent demonstrates that rocks in a cult space may have been meaningful components of the worship there, just like votive altars and statues of the deities.

### **e) Coastal sites and promontories**

Vasconcellos argued that various Christian sanctuaries located along the western Portuguese littoral have ancient rites and popular legends associated with them that have their roots in pagan beliefs (1905:216ff). This may well be true considering Avienus' *Ora Maritima*, in which we are told of numerous pre-Roman coastal sanctuaries and sacred spots which skirted the coastline of the Iberian Peninsula, crowning promontories, capes and islands. It also fits with the general practice in antiquity of consecrating coastal sites, the refuges and departing points for merchants and travellers (Mantas 2002:157-164).<sup>179</sup> In line with this is an 18<sup>th</sup> century reference to remains of a temple at Outão close to the port of ancient Caetobriga, Lusitania. It was recorded that these remains were found along with votive inscriptions and a figurine to Neptune (C.2.14; Cardoso 1747:584-585). Surely other ports and prominent coastal projections would have been appropriate points for similar veneration.

Nevertheless, I have found little evidence of cult sites adjacent to, or in view of the coast, in the non-urban milieu of Lusitania.<sup>180</sup> This is in part due to the fact that such sites, if located at ports, would generally be within the urban sphere.<sup>181</sup> Moreover, coastal cult may have been manifest as open air sacred places, not necessitating religious edifices (see the examples below). Coastal fluctuations and

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<sup>178</sup> Fernández Gómez interpreted this rock as part of 'Celtic' rock cult, and, therefore, of significance to the Roman period cult site here (Fernández Gómez 1986:965). Although this is difficult to determine, it is interesting to note Fernández' reference to the modern practice of attaching one's dog to this rock during the *fiesta del santo* to ward off rabies (Ibid; also mentioned in Seco 2010:276-278). The possible betyl in question is cylindrical and 79 cm tall with a 29.5 cm diameter base, and 20.1 cm diameter top (Seco 2010:278).

<sup>179</sup> See, for example, the sanctuaries of Nehalennia at Domburg and Colijnsplaat, where sailors on route to and from Britain set up votive inscriptions for the safekeeping of their goods: *ob merces bene conservatas* (Derks 1998:144 and footnote 70; Mantas 2002:158).

<sup>180</sup> Circa 9% (4 out of 45) of the total, actual and possible, non-urban cult sites (one site is not applicable).

<sup>181</sup> In the urban context, it is interesting to note that the important port city of Salacia has the name of a Roman goddess of the sea and companion of Neptune.

erosion, or subsequent urbanization in these regions, may also be accountable for this paucity.

### **e.1) Cult sites on coastal promontories**

What evidence we do retain of worship in coastal locations is, nevertheless, indicative of a wider practice. The two most prominent points along the coast of Portugal, the Cabo da Roca, Europe's most westerly point, and the Cabo São Vicente, the south-western corner of the Iberian Peninsula were both home to important cult sites in antiquity (figs 3.14 and 3.15) (C.1.2, 3.1). We have just seen that the latter was an open air context and involved clusters of rocks in its ritual. Similarly, at the start of this chapter it was noted that the former promontory of the Cabo da Roca, at the precise point of the Alto da Vigia, slightly north of the cape's furthest projection, was home to a circle of altars venerating the divine sun and moon.



Fig.3.14: Cabo S. Vicente, north-west view (Photo E.A. Richert)



Fig.3.15: View towards the Alto de Vigia, Colares (Photo E.A. Richert)

Through these examples we can appreciate the sacred potency of coastal locations, especially here where the Roman Empire reached its western-most limit, and so too that of the known world. Other coastal cult sites north of Lusitania, such as the Arae Sestianae<sup>182</sup> of the ancient sources, or the prolific altar cluster at Monte Facho de Donón, further confirm this symbolism (Koch et al. 2004).

#### **f) Common sacred natural locations which are poorly evidenced in Lusitania: caves and woods**

Similar explorations of religion and natural features often also take into account caves and woods.<sup>183</sup> There is little convincing evidence for worship in either locus in Roman period rural Lusitania. What we have discovered of the importance of natural elements in the religion of this region, the importance of caves and woods in the cultic context elsewhere in pre-Roman and Roman Iberia, and a few ‘hints’ of a similar trend in Lusitania, all suggest that this paucity is, however, a problem of archaeological visibility.

<sup>182</sup> Pliny, Mela and Ptolemy all refer to the Arae Sestianae – the first two of these authors also specifying that there were three such altars (Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 4.111; Mela, *de Chorographia* 3.13; Ptolemy, *Geographia* 2.6.3). Unfortunately they do not coincide on the location of these (see Étienne 1958:380ff). Étienne locates these on the occidental coast – the Monte Couro north of the Tamaris or the Cape Finisterre (1958:382). Wherever their exact location, it would have been a coastal site, in the north-west of the peninsula.

<sup>183</sup> See for example: Derks 1998:134ff; Edlund 1987:45ff; Alfayé 2009:27, 31-87; Marco 1999:149-152.

### **f.1) Cave cult**

Cult sites in caves, *cueva-santuarios*, have been identified in great abundance throughout the majority of the Iberian Peninsula, in contexts ranging from the Bronze Age to the Roman period (Moneo 2003:299-312, fig. V.15; Alfayé 2009:31-87). There is a spattering of evidence for the utilization of caves as putative cult spaces in pre-Roman Lusitania.<sup>184</sup> Yet, the Roman period, on first glance, seems to see the cessation of this practice in Lusitania.

However, this apparent paucity may be a mirage created by our understanding of what Roman period cult sites should look like. For instance, obvious cultic evidence, such as Roman period inscriptions of votive significance, like those of the well-known Cueva Negra in Murcia (*Tarraconensis*), has not been identified in caves of Lusitania (González, Mayer and Stylow 1987). Nor is there record of votive deposits within caves or rock shelters in the region, such as that found at Cueva del Valle, in Badajoz (*Baetica*) (Celestino 1997). Yet, evidence of engravings and paintings within caves has been found for pre- and proto-historic Lusitania. As these markings and depictions are often difficult to conclusively date it is possible that certain more recent prehistoric sites might pertain to, or have continued into, the Roman period.<sup>185</sup> This is corroborated, for instance, by the indigenous hill-fort of Yecla de Yeltes (Salamanca), in north-eastern Lusitania, where certain animal and geometric depictions engraved on associated rock-outcrops and on stones of the city walls, are considered to have the same chronology as the town: from the Iron Age II, throughout the Roman period, and into the Medieval era (Alfayé 2009:87-88). It is tempting to think that there may have been a similar continuity of these types of images (quite possibly of symbolic significance) well into the Roman period, in certain Lusitanian caves.

The sacred quality of caves was also marked out in the Roman period in Lusitania not by cultic, but by funerary, remains. For example, the cave of Caldeirão,

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<sup>184</sup> For example, late Bronze Age remains (especially ceramics), which do not appear to be either funerary or quotidian, have been found in numerous cave environments on the Lisbon and Setúbal peninsulas, as well as in the Algarve. Gomes and Calado interpret these as primitive cave sanctuaries (2007:152-6). A Tartesian inscription and paintings in a cave at Covacha de Montfragüe, Torrejón el Rubio (Cáceres) is seen to have a sacred character, perhaps related to astral cult (Alfayé 2009:396 w/ further references).

<sup>185</sup> Alfayé, for example, records the problems inherent in dating the rock paintings found in a cave in Cáceres, which include images of warriors with arms that have been argued to have both Iron Age II and Medieval parallels (2009:75-77).

in Portugal, which was utilized in Mesolithic times, has also turned up evidence of Iron Age and Roman cremation burials, as well as Iron Age funerary urns and fragments of terra sigillata, glass and the end of worked bone, from the Roman era (Figueirido 2006:151). Certain other caves in Lusitania, often with much earlier evidence of human use, have similarly revealed evidence of Roman period funerary activity (Buraca da Moura da Rexaldia; Gruta de Colaride; Caverna do Bacelinho).<sup>186</sup> Therefore, the chthonic symbolism of the cave environment may have continued into Roman times, and though these caves were not commonly elaborated into evident cult sites, the fact that they were occasionally burial sites, is evidence of their sacred function in this period.

## **f.2) Sacred woods**

Sacred woods and clearings therein are recorded as a vital component of ‘Celtic’ religious tradition.<sup>187</sup> They are encapsulated in the Celtic term nemeton. Many authors have studied this term which appears frequently in toponyms, and occasionally in theonyms in the western Empire, and reflects the commonality of sacred woods or Celtic open air cult sites (Marco 1993:317-324 and 1999:150-152; Fernández Nieto 2010:544).<sup>188</sup> For the Romans, a clearing in a sacred wood was denoted by the Latin term *lucus*. A recent study by Fernández Nieto lists various of these *luci* in Hispania including: the sanctum Buradonis *ilicetum* near Bilbilis (Martial 4.55.23); the *lucus Dianae* known from Latin rock inscriptions and depictions at Segobriga; a *lucus Oleastrum* not far from Gades (Mela de Chorographia, 3.4); and two *luci* which he argues are to be deduced from the Botorrita bronzes I and IV (2010:537-550).<sup>189</sup> These provide evidence of what was undoubtedly a more common occurrence of sacralizing woods. Hypotheses have been put forth for the existence of two *luci* in Lusitania, as well. Unfortunately, these

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<sup>186</sup> See these sites in the IGESPAR: CNS 1773; 3528; 25106.

<sup>187</sup> For example, Tacitus says of the Germaniae: “...*lucos ac nemora consecrant deorumque nominibus appellat secretum illud, quod sola reverentia vident*” (Germania 9).

<sup>188</sup> For instance, north of the Lusitanian border, in Gallaecia, *Deo Cusu Nemedeco* and a *Deo Domino Nemedeco* (both in the dative), were venerated on two altars located in and adjacent to Santo Tirso. The divine epithet *Nemedeco* is argued to relate to the term *nemeton*, therefore linking this deity to his *sylvan* cult place which may well have existed in the region of Santo Tirso (Búa 1999:315 and note 22 cf. HEp 9, 1999, 757-758).

<sup>189</sup> Fernández Nieto also notes, and accepts, García-Bellido’s hypothesis of the *lucus Feroniae* (described further below) (2010:541).

arguments are difficult to accept, and it is my belief that concrete evidence of consecrated woods in Lusitania is still wanting.

García-Bellido has argued that a *lucus Feroniae* of the Augustini, mentioned by Agennius Urbicus (*de controversiis agrorum* 37.13),<sup>190</sup> belongs in Lusitania, north of Augusta Emerita, and would have encompassed the altar cluster found at Sta. Lucía del Trampal (C.1.25; García-Bellido 1991:73-5; 2001:53-71). Her reasoning for making this association is complex, but at its heart is the idea that Feronia was a local interpretation –via Proserpina –of Ataecina (who is worshipped prolifically in this region). She also relates various qualities of the region of Sta. Lucía, such as its mountainous, largely unpopulated terrain, forests, animal husbandry, and abundant waters, to similar features of the Italic cult of Feronia in Capena and Tarracina (2001:55ff). This proposition has gained tacit acceptance among many scholars.<sup>191</sup> However, others are skeptical; they quite rightly point out that there is no indication in Urbicus of which city is being referred to in the ‘Feronia’ citation<sup>192</sup> (Le Roux 1999:266-267; Goffaux 2006:58). It is perhaps most plausible that Urbicus is referring to the *Lucus Feroniae* in the territory of Capena, which is Campbell’s assessment of the text (2000:342-343, no.36). This point coupled with the complete absence of Feronia dedications in Lusitania, to my mind, leaves García-Bellido’s hypothesis impossible to confirm. Her emphasis on the idealized naturalistic surroundings of the altar cluster of Sta. Lucía is, nonetheless, noteworthy, and in keeping with the naturalistic tenor of cultic activity which this chapter has been exposing.

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<sup>190</sup> See Campbell 2000:34-5 for text and translation. Unfortunately, the two lines which precede the reference to the *lucus Feroniae Augustinorum* are missing. Precisely when Urbicus lived and wrote is debated; Campbell tentatively posits a late 4<sup>th</sup> to early 5<sup>th</sup> century date (Campbell 2000:xxxii).

<sup>191</sup> Various other authors also apparently agree with García-Bellido’s hypothesis. For example: Abascal 1995:102; Sánchez 1997:137; Marco 1996:92-3.

<sup>192</sup> The idea that the Augustini of the *lucus Feroniae Augustinorum* are the inhabitants of Emerita Augusta is also argued by Canto due to these peoples’ denomination as Augustini by Frontinus (*Controv.* p.9 Th; Le Roux 1999:266, footnote 17). However, many Imperial cities carried the denomination Augusta and their inhabitants might therefore equally be referred to as Augustini.

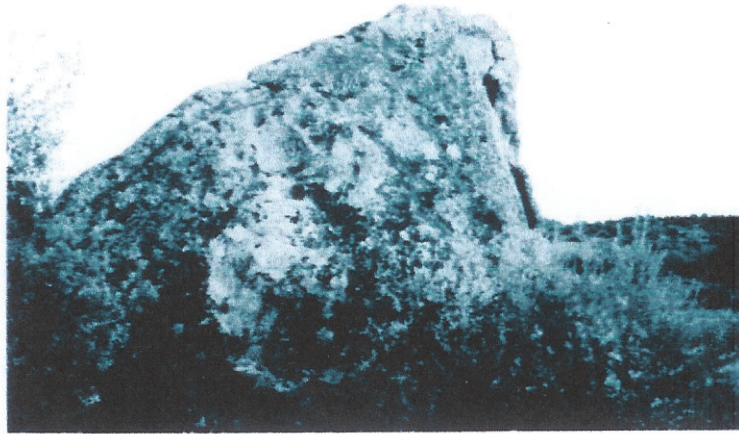


Fig.3.16: Back face of the rock of Cenicientos with the putative 'bear-print' showing (Canto 1994:291, lam.3b)

On similarly hypothetical grounds is Canto's argument that the large, carved rock found at Cenicientos on the eastern border of Lusitania, noted above, was part of a *Lucus Dianae* (figs 3.12 and 3.16) (C.1.9; Canto 1994). This argument rests on a tenuous reading of the inscription in which a later dedication "A las tres Marías", proposed by Knapp, is seen to overlie a Roman period dedication to Diana.<sup>193</sup> A lack of remains in the immediate surroundings is given as further evidence for a *lucus*, as well as what is interpreted to be a 'bear paw' carving on the back of the great rock (fig.3.16) (Canto 1994:286, 288; Alfayé 2009:143). Canto argues that these bear prints are a motif found on terminal stones, denoting limits and the start of woods. This is based on *Latinus v.p. Togatus*<sup>194</sup>, a Roman land surveyor who wrote a list of various markings on boundary stones and their significance (e.g. wolf paw; cow hoof; horse hoof etc.): *Terminus sive petra naturalis, si branca ursi habuerit, lucum significat* (as cited in: Lachmann 1848:309).<sup>195</sup> Thus, the connection between the *lucus*, the border region and the stone coalesces, for Canto, in this bear print. However, this creative interpretation requires due caution as the rock itself is rough

<sup>193</sup> A(ninio) l(ibens) s(olvit votum) · Sisc(inius?) Q(—) *Dianae* (Canto 1994:277).

<sup>194</sup> *Latinus v.p. Togatus* cannot be identified precisely though Campbell notes that his writing style, like the other authors in this collection on boundary stones, belongs to the Late Empire (2000:440).

<sup>195</sup> She translates this into Spanish as: Si en un cipo divisorio o sobre una piedra natural se representara una garra de oso, significa (el comienzo de un) bosque (1994:288). In fact, there is no indication that this signifies the start of a wood, as she suggests "el comienzo de", but simply a *lucus* which may equally have been located around the *terminus*. The line is better simply translated, as Campbell does: "A boundary stone, or natural stone, if it has the paw of a bear carved on it, indicates a grove" (2000:231).



granite and the supposed bear print is far from obvious (fig.3.16). This mark (bear print or not) may also pertain to any period in time. What remains noteworthy in this, and the case of Sta. Lucía del Trampal, is the idealized natural surroundings of each area, and the lack of Roman structural remains around both cult sites.

If a cult space exists in an area that has no other elements creating ‘secular’ divisions of the consecrated space, it is possible that the whole area retained a sacred import, perhaps as a *lucus* or *nemeton*. Yet, there remains a great deal more analysis – which might first start with botanical analyses around certain sanctuaries or altar clusters located in otherwise uninhabited zones – before more plausible evidence of sacred woods in Lusitania can be considered.<sup>196</sup> A view towards contextualizing cult, which this thesis has advocated, would undoubtedly benefit from this type of environmental analysis.

### **g) Conclusion**

The aim of this chapter has been to shed light on the natural environment in which cultic activities were practised, and cult edifices and monuments erected, in rural Lusitania. It was suggested that countryside inhabitants may have had more freedom to locate their spaces of worship in respect to sacred natural features in the landscape than would necessarily have been afforded to urban dwellers. The choices that they made, be it the precise rock that they selected to inscribe with record of an elaborate sacrifice, or the spring they adorned with a votive altar, give us a valuable insight into their ideological perceptions of their surroundings.

Of course, we will never know the extent to which natural features were deemed sacred and worshipped as such, with no artificial articulation or adornment of any sort. However, the frequency with which outstanding or unique natural features appear to have been integral components of places of worship in rural Lusitania argues for a close link between cult and nature in this corner of the Empire. This is increasingly apparent when one also takes into account the scattering of literary references to cult in the region, homonyms between names of natural features

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<sup>196</sup> The only rural cult site of Lusitania where archaeobotanical analysis have been conducted is the temple of Nossa Senhora das Cabeças, Orjais (Leeuwaarden and Queiroz 2004; C.1.20).

and deities, and the various nature spirits found in the epigraphic corpus of this area (see also, chapter five).<sup>197</sup>

From the evidence available it appears that, in locating their cult sites, the rural Lusitanians privileged elevated areas on hills or mountains which would have had dominant views over the surrounding terrain. Springs were frequently the focus of cult, or part of the presumed temenos space of a cult site. Most sites, for reasons ranging from practicality to spirituality, were located in view of rivers. The manipulation of large rock outcrops into cult space and cult monuments characteristic of western Hispania, hints that these permanent features carried an ideological significance in the local mindset. Evidence for coastal cult sites is not plentiful but the two sites we do have knowledge of, Cape St. Vincent and Alto da Vigia, are paradigmatic and indicative of a wider trend of open air, littoral cult. There is also little evidence for typical, Roman-style cultic worship within caves of this region, though I have argued that there are still other ways in which we may be able to appreciate the symbolic quality of these cave spaces. Finally, there is a paucity of evidence for sacred woods in the province; this, of course, could simply reflect the fact that these woods are archaeologically invisible.

Besides these general characteristics, the material, textual and epigraphic data also highlights certain specific tendencies in the realm of ‘nature cult’ of this region. These include: a preference for hill-slopes rather than peaks; the possible elaboration of springs by way of single or multiple votive altars alone; the marking out and encasing of springs in the vicinity of certain cult sites; the selective use of rocks for cult space (e.g. based on size; naturally occurring features; dominance); the increased symbolic importance of confluences over other river waters; and, the possible use of rivers to delineate cult space. Deposition of votive offerings in natural locations like rivers and springs was poorly evidenced in the region, though votive altars and other offerings are found associated with the thermal springs of rural baths. Finally, it is clear that certain natural features took on a mythical role which would have been part of local tradition, as was possibly the case with the atrum flumen at the important sanctuary of Endovellicus on the promontory of S. Miguel da Mota.

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<sup>197</sup> See especially Prósper (2002) who interprets many western Hispanic indigenous deity names as based in terminology relating to natural phenomena.

This Lusitanian evidence is not out of step with that of the rest of the Roman Empire. Throughout this chapter I have offered Empire-wide examples related to the worship of divinities which were seen to inhabit certain natural features. These examples are easy to come by and remind us that this phenomenon was very much in keeping with pagan religiosity, be it Celtic, Roman, Greek, etc. However, it is simplest to see the apparent tendency towards nature-based cult in rural Lusitania as a vestige of local worship, intimately linked to the local terrain. This is not to say that pre-Roman nature-based cult sites continued into the Roman era; the previous chapter found little evidence to support this assertion. Rather, conceptions of the sacrality of nature, in general, may well have been more tenacious than the physical cultic landscape.

#### **IV. Cult in space: The relationship between rural cult sites and the man-made landscape of Lusitania**

Any cult site or religious monument located outside the urban environment begs the question: why is it there? In the previous chapter I explored the role that topography and natural features may have played in determining the location of these sites. Considering the number of sites located in dominant and outstanding positions in the landscape, and in relation to features such as mountains, rivers and river confluences, hot and cold springs and ocean promontories, or associated with large or peculiar rocks, it appears the sanctity of the landscape cannot be subtracted from an understanding of rural worship. Yet, it was not only the natural landscape that influenced the location and character of these cult places. The built environment, or man-made landscape, of towns and cities, borders, roadways and industrial installations, also affected the nature of countryside cult.

The cult sites of rural Lusitania fit into this territorial infrastructure in a variety of ways. It has already been stated in this thesis that the small scale of many of the cult sites suggests that they related to individual or familial, rather than collective, worship. This calls into question the extent to which these sites can be said to have been ‘stimulated by Rome’ as a means of acculturating the provincials, as has been argued of certain western Hispanic sanctuaries (Marco 1996:83). If rural cult spaces were used in this way we might expect to find a number of ‘public’ sanctuaries erected in the territorium by the civic governing elite of the municipia and coloniae. However, this appears to have been fairly uncommon in Lusitania itself. We should therefore ask: who initiated the cult sites, and what does their physical location tell us about their character and probable clientele? For example, was a cult site located on a border and frequented by neighbouring villages? Or, was it within a marble quarry or some other industrial setting? Did it cater to travellers and merchants or locals? Even when excavation has not been initiated, is it correct to assume that many of these cult sites were situated within communities and on rural properties? And, what do their locations reveal about the relationships between these cult sites and their respective civitas capitals?

All of these questions will be explored below with an aim to understanding how rural cult sites were interwoven into the fabric of the province, including their

relationship to the civitates, territorial borders, villas and private land-holdings, villages and vici, roadways, and industrial installations. Clearly, it is unfeasible to record all such man-made features in the surrounding landscape of each of the non-urban cult sites catalogued. The analysis of any of the sites lies too much at the mercy of the available archaeological material for this to be possible. This chapter will explore certain cases in which features of the Roman Imperial man-made topography of Lusitania have appreciable and noteworthy significance for specific non-urban cult sites, and then assess what this might tell us about the character and dynamics of rural worship as a whole.

#### **a) The relationship between countryside cult sites and civitas centres**

The province of Lusitania was divided into numerous administrative centres, or civitates, focused on urban nuclei of varying size and importance, with dependant territory belonging to each. The Flavian decree of *ius Latii* to all of Hispania solidified the status of such centres, significantly increasing the number of municipia in the province.<sup>198</sup> This, in effect, tied the surrounding lands, or *pagus*, to the civitas governing centre. Acknowledging this relationship, it is appropriate to begin this chapter by exploring what influence or impact the civitas centre might have had on the physical manifestations of religion in its territorium (see fig.4.1).

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<sup>198</sup> See chapter two, section d, for more on this decree.

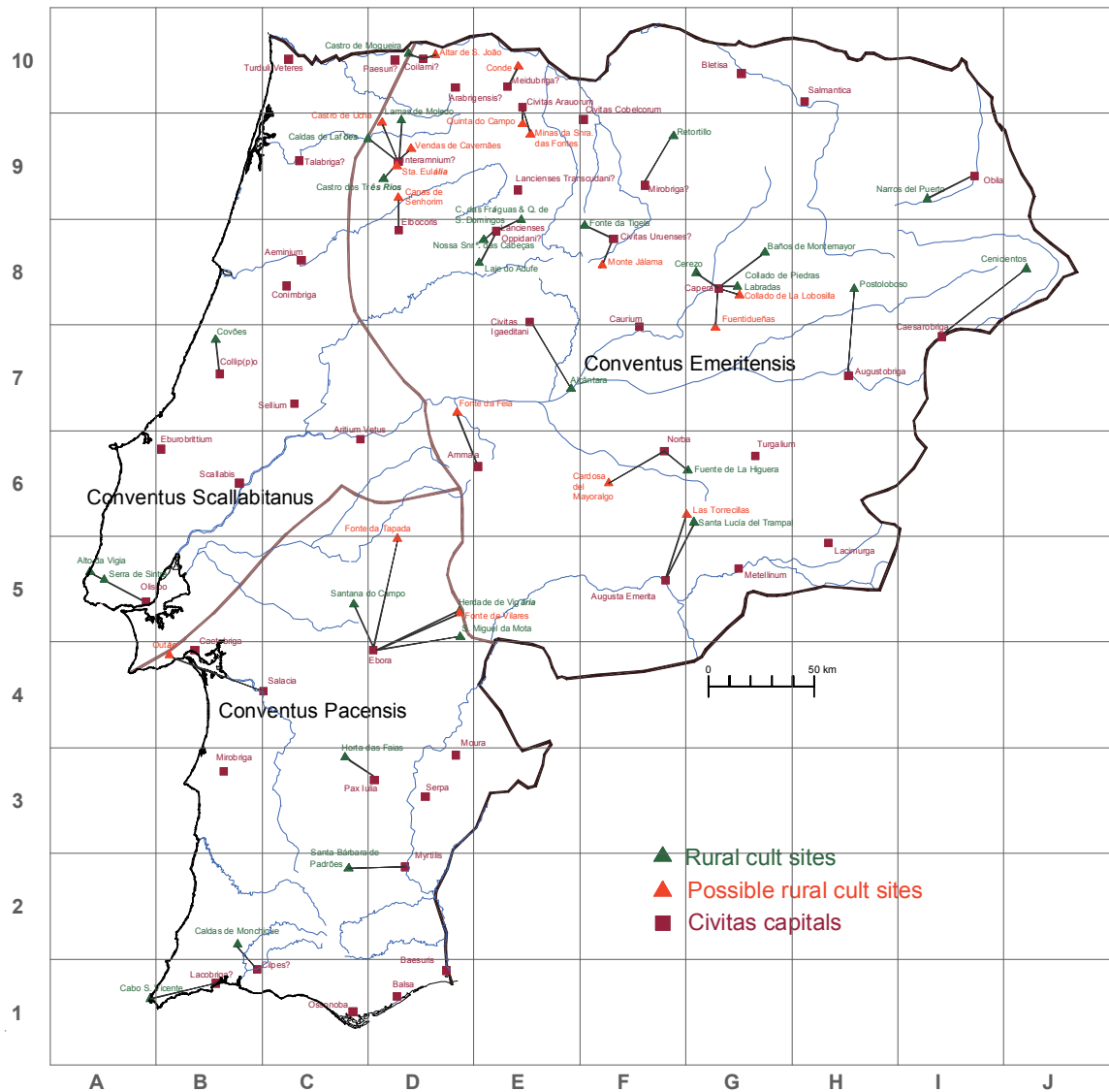


Fig.4.1: Map of the Lusitanian cult sites and their nearest civitas capitals (E.A. Richert, base-map based on Navarro and Ramírez 2003)

#### Rural Cult Sites from Appendix I:

Alcántara (E7); Altar de São João (D10); Alto da Vigia (A5); Baños de Montemayor (G8); Cabeço das Fráguas (E8/9); Cabo São Vincent (Cape St. Vincent) (A1); Caldas de Lafões (C/D9); Caldas de Monchique (B2); Canas de Senhorim (D9); Cardosa del Mayoralgo (F6); Castro de Mogueira (D10); Castro de Ucha (D9); Castro dos Três Rios (D9); Cenicientos (J8); Cerezo (G8); Collado de la Lobosilla (G8); Collado de Piedras Labradas (G8); Conde (E10); Cõvoes (B7); Fonte da Feia (D7); Fonte da Tigela (F8); Fonte da Tapada da Almeda (D5); Fonte de Vilares (D5); Fuente de la Higuera (G6); Fuentidueñas (G7); Herdade da Vigária (D5); Horta das Faias (C3); Laje do Adufe (E8); Lamas de Moledo (D9); Las Torrecillas (F/G6); Minas da Senhora das Fontes (E9); Monte Jálama (F8); Narros del Puerto (I9); Nossa Senhora das Cabeças (E8); Outão (B4); Postoloboso (H8); Quinta de São Domingos (F9); Quinta do Campo (E9); Retortillo (E8/9); Santa Bárbara de Padrões = Arannis? (C2); Santa Eulália (D9); Santa Lucía del Trampal (G6); Santana do Campo (C5); São Miguel da Mota (D5); Serra de Sintra (A5); Vendas de Cavernães (D9)

### a.1) Geographic proximity

It is tempting to envisage a relationship between a rural cult site and a civitas centre<sup>199</sup> when the two were in close enough proximity to one another (<10km) to have allowed for easy access and inter-communication.<sup>200</sup> Yet, as is apparent from the below chart (fig.4.2), this relationship rarely exists in Lusitania.<sup>201</sup> When it does, the reduced scale of the cult sites, or lack of information concerning their structure and divinity venerated, makes it highly difficult to argue that a direct link existed between civitas and cult site.

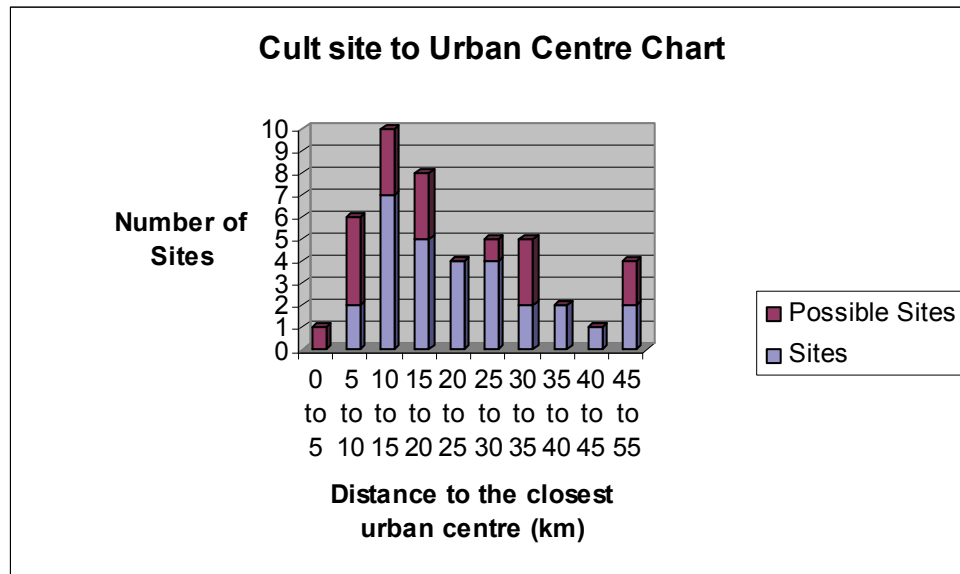


Fig.4.2: The relative distances between cult spaces and civitas centres

<sup>199</sup> The privileged towns are primarily known from Pliny the Elder *Naturalis historia*, Ptolemy *Geographia*, Strabo *Geographia*, Mela de *Chorographia*, Appian *Iberike*, the Antonine Itinerary, the Ravenna Cosmography, and an inscription from the bridge of Alcántara = CIL II 760 (see Osland 2006, 'ancient sources'). For more on the debate concerning the localization of these civitates in Lusitania see, especially, Alarcão's various contributions: 1988b:Vol.I, 17-34; 1990; 1998; 2000; 2001:293-312; 2005; and 2005b. Other recent treatments of the subject can be found in Osland (2006) and Carvalho (2007). Various relevant articles are contained in the following compilations: Gorges (ed.) (1990), Gorges and Salinas de Frías (eds) (1994), Gorges and Rodríguez (eds) (1999), Nogales Basarrate (ed.) (2005), Vilaça et al. (2005). Also noteworthy is Le Roux (1994).

<sup>200</sup> These measurements are intended to give a general picture of the proximity between cult spaces and civitates. Nevertheless, distance itself is not the only factor determining whether a town and a rural sanctuary were easily accessible to one another. Further study of individual sites might explore terrain variables, as well as road and river networks facilitating access between such spaces.

<sup>201</sup> The non-urban cult sites that I have identified within a 10km or less radius to a civitas capital = Nossa Senhora das Cabeças (C.1.20)/civitas Lancienses Oppidani (Centum Cellas); Castro de Mogueira (C.1.7)/civitas Coilarni (Lamego); Possibles = Quinta do Campo (C.2.15)/civitas Aravorum (Marialva); Collado de la Lobosilla (C.2.5)/Capera (Cáparra); Santa Eulália, Repeses (C.2.16)/Interamnium (Viseu); Altar de São João (C.2.1)/civitas Coilarni (Lamego); Vendas de Cavernães (C.2.17)/Interamnium (Viseu). Only the possible cult site of Sta. Eulália is less than 5km from its respective civitas capital.

Pedro Carvalho – excavator of the Roman temple at Nossa Sr<sup>a</sup>. das Cabeças (Orjais) – has, nevertheless, posited such interconnectedness between this temple and its nearest civitas capital (C.1.20). Although the temple falls into a region in which the location of the civitates remains controversial, Carvalho argues that the civitas capital in question should be located in the area of the chapel of Nossa Sr<sup>a</sup>. das Luzes, Orjais, just c. 2 km down the hill from the temple (2003:170-173; 2007:339-343).<sup>202</sup> According to this scenario, the civitas centre would have been sufficiently close to the temple to have had close ties to it, and possibly have been responsible for its erection and maintenance. Yet, in my view, following a convincing and thorough study by Guerra, and follow-up study by Guerra and Schattner, the civitas capital in question ought to be located at the site of Centum Cellas (Colmeal da Torre, Belmonte), where the ample remains – hitherto regarded primarily as a villa – fit very well with the orthogonal plan of an urban centre, replete with forum and temple (Guerra 2007; Guerra and Schattner 2010).<sup>203</sup> In light of this hypothesis, the temple of Nossa Senhora das Cabeças would no longer be located in the immediate surroundings of a civitas, but still within fairly close proximity and possible visual range (c. 7.6km as the crow flies).

We need not, however, discard Carvalho's hypothesis that the temple was a *de facto* official cult site, related to a civitas centre, though. The monumentality of the temple is such that it may well have required, at least financial, input from a source of greater economic potency than any more proximate settlement (see figs 4.3a and b below).<sup>204</sup> The link between civitas capital and temple is further

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<sup>202</sup> Remains at Nossa Senhora das Luzes are 2ha in extension. They include no monumental edifices (perhaps in part due to modern construction), though column drums and bases have been found in Orjais, and a column base with a few other architectural fragments was found next to the chapel (Carvalho 2003:170-172; 2007:339 ff). Other finds include construction and common-ware ceramics, Hispanic t.s., glass, two votive altars and two funerary altars (Carvalho 2007:188-189, no.80; 341 and footnote 190). Even though the site is quite small and not monumental, Carvalho regards the civitas capitals of the Beira Interior as little more than secondary agglomerations in size, and so sees these remains as sufficient (2003:172; 2007:337-339). He identifies this, therefore, as the possible civitas capital of the Ocelenses Lancienses (Carvalho 2005:159 and 2007:106 ff)

<sup>203</sup> Guerra argues that this would have been the capital of the civitas Lancienses Oppidani, which he sees as equivalent to the civitas Lancienses Ocelenses. See his article for a full account of the debate concerning this civitas and the various previous hypotheses (2007:161-206).

<sup>204</sup> The main body of the structure measures 18.88m long x 8.70m wide, which Carvalho notes as comparable to the dimensions of the urban temples at Almofala, Ammaia, Idanha-a-Velha, Augustobriga and Conimbriga (2003:162, referring to Hauschild 2002:215-222). Another lower platform of 20.05m x 5.98m precedes this. This is far larger than other extant rural temples/temple



strengthened by the fact that Centum Cellas is situated along an important roadway that also runs past the temple, making one easily accessible to the other. Moreover, we saw in chapter two, section d, that the temple was constructed around the same period as the municipalization of the town of the Lancienses Oppidani. The temple, then, in keeping with Carvalho's estimation, may have been stimulated by the civitas capital, and functioned as a visible manifestation of this civitas centre's influence in the region. Whether or not it was a 'public' temple, supported by the civic purse, or a 'private' temple, promoted by civic elites, cannot be determined without further epigraphic finds.<sup>205</sup>



Figs 4.3a and b: Detail of part of the remaining back podium from the temple of Nossa Senhora das Cabeças, Orjais (left) and the temple of Centum Cellas, Orjais, as it now stands (right) (Photos E.A. Richert)

Besides this example, as noted, there are few definite relationships, in terms of close geographical proximity, that can be drawn between civitas centres and non-urban cult sites. The only other significant exception is the case of the municipium of Capera where a series of small shrines and cult spaces, ranging from 9 to 27 km

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remains of non-urban Lusitania. For more on the monumental aspects of the temple see Carvalho (2003:162).

<sup>205</sup> See the Introduction of this thesis for more on the difference between public and private cult sites.

distance from it, might have been purposefully situated to mark the fringes of this town's arable land, or the course of an important arterial Roman road that traversed this civitas (see section d, below). No sites have yet been found in Lusitania which can be classed definitively as extra-mural sanctuaries, such as are often recorded in other Imperial contexts.<sup>206</sup> This may be due to the fact that full scale excavations, including the outskirts of towns, are rare in this context; a better understanding of the limits between towns and their surrounding agricultural lands may eventually alter this picture. Relying on the available evidence, though, it appears that the most customary location for cult spaces, in respect to civitas centres, was between 10 and 20 kms distance (see the chart above). This could reflect the fact that villae tended to cluster around larger towns, leaving cult spaces, villages, small farms, etc., to occupy the outskirts of the villa sphere. Similarly, this 10 to 20 km distance might also be an indication that these cult spaces were situated in rural towns and villages, which would more likely have been located at a short distance from their respective civitas centres than on their doorsteps.

The general low frequency of cult installations in close geographic proximity to administrative centres does not necessarily detract from the effectiveness of these centres in the institutionalization and dissemination of Roman or official religious models within their regional ambit. There are yet other ways in which this could be demonstrated beyond physical proximity: private and public donations by civic elite at hinterland shrines; cult sites erected on civitas borders; and, the uptake of civic models of worship in vici. In the following pages, these topics will be explored further to gauge the extent to which the countryside cult was a function of the civitas capitals.

## **a.2) Civic elite involvement in rural cult sites**

On occasion, the presence of urban officials or elite in the countryside is revealed through dedicatory inscriptions recording the erection of shrines and religious monuments within the broader territorium of a municipium or colonia. By far the finest example of this from Lusitania is the Alto da Vigia (Praia das Mações, Colares, Sintra): a promontory jutting out into the Atlantic, 30km from the important

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<sup>206</sup> For instance, Edlund classifies many of the sanctuaries of Magna Graecia and Etruria as either extra-urban or extra-mural (1987).

city of Olisipo (Lisbon). As was noted in the previous chapters, three monumental altars have been found there, and many more are recorded by early modern travel writers.<sup>207</sup> The three extant altars from this site were set up by high-ranking officials (see C.1.2). Their dedications were made to Sol and Luna, and pray for the health of the Emperor. In this way, the official dedicators merged what was perhaps a local cult to the sun and moon – both resplendent against the coastal horizon here – with devotion to the Emperor (Marco 2009:205). In effect, this would have been an important harmonizing measure.

There is only a scattering of other dedicatory inscriptions to the gods, much less shrines or temples, erected by civic magistrates outside the urban centres of Lusitania.<sup>208</sup> One inscription appears to suggest a public religious donation in a *civitas* territory. This was found in Villar de Plasencia (Cáceres) and has been interpreted to read: (obverse) Mercuri(o)/ Sacrum / f(actum) ex v(oto) p(ublico); (reverse) ...Era[---] CCLXIII·pos(uit)/Lebi[---] (Rio-Miranda 2010:262, no.197).<sup>209</sup> If interpreted correctly, this would be a unique case of public cult promoted in the hinterland of a Lusitanian *civitas* capital – in this instance, the *civitas* of Capera, which sits 7.1km from the find-spot of the altar (Salinas de Frías 2001:165). We cannot, of course, rule out that this inscription was relocated here from Capera, itself, at some time. It is neither possible to examine the piece, as it is now lost, nor determine anything about the dedicator or his potential civic standing.

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<sup>207</sup> See fig.3.2 for a 16<sup>th</sup> century drawing of this site by Francisco de Hollanda.

<sup>208</sup> A magistrate of the municipium at Bobadela, the aedile Vegetus son of Talabrus, set up what may have been a religious monument in the outlying castrum of S. Romão (Seia) (Alarcão 2002-03:167; Fernandes et al 2006:181). It reads: - - - - - ? / Presente et / Extricato II / co(n)s(ulibus) Vegetus / Talabari f(ilius) edi/lis s(acravit?) (HEpOL 20656). A vir clarissimus set up an altar to Juno Regina at Alange, which could pertain to the Roman baths there (Appendix II, no.1) (AE 1997, 805). Besides this a small number of priests or college members (possibly religious colleges) set up dedications in the rural sphere: Flavia Rufina, a flaminica provinc(iae) Lusitaniae dedicated an inscription to I.O.M. which was found in Torrão in the territory of Salacia (CIL II 32; RAP 267); Cicerius Iuvenalis an augustalis erected an inscription recording the dedication of a signum to Mars Augustus that was found in Sines, though it may pertain to Mirobriga (HEpOL 22806; FE 1996:Vol.51, no.230); Quintus Licinius, a IIIII[vir....] set up an inscription to Juno by the provincial border in La Morera, Badajoz (HEpOL 25466); and, L. Iulius Maelo Caudicus, a flamen Divi Augusti, set up a water font at Armês, in the territory of Olisipo which Cardim Ribeiro argues could have been a religious dedication, though the inscription does not confirm this. It reads: 'L(ucius) Iulius Maelo Caudic(us) flam(en) divi Aug(usti) d(e) s(uo) f(ecit)' (CIL II 260; HEpOL 21313; see Appendix II, no.7). For the short list of private donations of 'urban' temples and shrines in Lusitania see Andreu (2000:125).

<sup>209</sup> See Rio-Miranda (2010:262, no.197) for a full bibliography. The consular year AD 263 = AD 229 (Salinas de Frías 2001:165).

Besides this tentative example, the site of Alto da Vigia, and the case of the aforementioned temple of Nossa Sr<sup>a</sup>. das Cabeças (where monumentality and proximity to an urban centre argued for civic involvement), there is scant evidence to support a contention that civic magistrates promoted certain deities or financed cult spaces within the countryside.<sup>210</sup> This calls into question notions of a premeditated religious ‘Romanization’ of the countryside. If, as Marco (1996:83; 2009:208) has argued in respect to western Hispania, Rome stimulated the role of certain rural sanctuaries as a means of ‘cultural integration’, should we not see more of an imprint left from the actions of governing elite on these places?<sup>211</sup> Instead, it appears that the majority of rural cult sites of Lusitania relate to private initiative. The locals may have made an effort to model their practices on Roman style worship on display in the municipia and coloniae, but the urban governing elite is rarely shown promoting this change.<sup>212</sup>

## **b) Countryside cult sites on borders**

Throughout the Roman Empire sanctuaries and cult places were erected on territorial borders. The cult of Terminus best encapsulates this phenomenon, (Ovid, *Fasti*, II, 639-684), which is also attested by the Roman land surveyors, and suggested by the locations of, and epigraphy at, certain sanctuaries elsewhere in the Empire.<sup>213</sup> Scheid, for instance, has convincingly argued that the sanctuary at La Magliana (Italia), dedicated to Dea Dia: “doit être rangé dans la catégorie des cultes de confines”; by comparison, he extends this argument to various other sanctuaries outside Rome that mark the edge of this city’s ager (1987:592).

Occasionally, correspondences between rural sacred spaces and provincial or regional borders can be tentatively posited for Lusitania. This region, after all, had been recently marked out with a series of new limits – between civitates, conventus

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<sup>210</sup> However, an aedeolum recorded on an inscription from sanctuary of S. Miguel da Mota was a private donation (IRCP 523 = HEpOL 23802).

<sup>211</sup> It should be noted that Marco’s assertion pertains to the whole of western Iberia, and is also argued by means of many sanctuaries that fall outside Lusitania proper (see chapter one, footnote 48).

<sup>212</sup> Countryside desire to model urban religious habits and practices will be seen in the case of the vicani dedications to Jupiter, and is occasionally apparent elsewhere in the repertoire of deities recorded on epigraphy (see chapter five).

<sup>213</sup> The public festival of Terminus, the Terminalia, was celebrated on February 23<sup>rd</sup>, at the 6<sup>th</sup> milestone of the via Laurentina (Ovid, *Fasti*, 2.679). For land surveyors’ mention of altars as occasionally marking boundary regions see Campbell (2000:53, 157, 179,189).

and other provinciae. It is thus reasonable to assume that an emphasis on the sanctity of these thresholds might have been utilized as a tool in cementing them. In respect to central and north-west Gaul, Spickermann points out:

Cult sites in the form of local centres in peripheral areas of civitates served rural societies as the traditional gathering-spots for their cultural, economic and perhaps legal needs. Above all, they served to maintain the shared cult of subdivisions of the civitates, the pagi, although the meetings that took place may still have followed pre-Roman traditions (2007: 76).

And, referring to the sanctuaries of western Hispania, Marco Simón concludes:

We have seen that the most significant [cultic] groupings examined were located in border zones –facilitating, consequently, exchange between distinct regional elements, towns or civitates – (1996:95, my translation).<sup>214</sup>

Unfortunately, the exact parameters of urban territories, or civitates, are extremely difficult to ascertain in the context of Lusitania. Occasionally distances recorded on milestones, or the distribution of funerary stelae mentioning tribe affiliations, hint at the locations of these boundaries; so too do a number of termini augustales found in the province (Le Roux 1994:48-51; Alarcão 1990:21). Yet, I have not found such termini located in direct association with any of the rural cult spaces of the province. Moreover, as these termini are rarely found in situ, they only provide an approximate understanding of the location of these limits. Due to the difficulty in identifying civitas borders, therefore, it is inappropriate to attempt to calculate the number of cult sites located on such frontiers, or to draw definitive and overarching conclusions about boundary cult in this province. Even so, a few better-evidenced correspondences merit attention and shed light on the other, more tenuous, cases.

One of the better known territories of Lusitania is the important and vast territory surrounding the provincial capital, Augusta Emerita; this was an extensive region, well attested by the Roman land surveyors, which was newly formed after this city's founding in 25 BC. The altar cluster found at Sta. Lucía del Trampal (Cáceres) appears to be situated very close to the northern border of this territorium (fig.4.4) (C.1.25) (Goffaux 2006:52, 76-79).<sup>215</sup> This limit is thought to follow the

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<sup>214</sup> “Hemos visto cómo los más significativos conjuntos [culturales] examinados se localizaban en zonas limitáneas –facilitando, en consecuencia, el intercambio entre elementos regionales distintos, pueblos o civitates –” (Marco 1996:95).

<sup>215</sup> Some have recorded that Santa Lucía del Trampal lies on the border of Vettonian, Lusitanian and Celtic/Beturian Celtic territory (Marco 1999b:40; 2005:315, Sánchez 1997:136). García-Bellido notes five peoples who would have had this as a ‘place of contact’, the Lusitanians, Vettonians, Celts, Turdulians and Celtiberians, as well as the Romans of the territorium of Emerita (in the Roman epoch) (2001:55).

natural barrier created by various mountain chains, including the sierras of San Pedro, Centinela, and Montánchez (Gorges and Rodríguez 2005:110; Goffaux 2006:77-78).<sup>216</sup> The altar cluster of Sta. Lucía del Trampal was situated in this exact area, at 441m above sea-level, midway down the eastern slope of the Sierra Centinela. In this position it may also have been close to the northern extension of the centuriated area of this territorium, which, according to Gorges and Rodríguez, reached, at the most, up to Carmonita and Cordobilla de Lácara – two communities laterally aligned with Sta. Lucía (2005:104,110).<sup>217</sup> In other words, it appears that this sanctuary was placed just beyond the lands that had been cleared of their native inhabitants and given over to veterans. In fact, it is possible, as Olivares has suggested, that these resettled lands actually displaced the pre-Roman community of the Turobrigenses which then set up a cult site at Sta. Lucía, and dedicated monuments elsewhere to their local deity Ataecina Turobrigensis (2003:306-310).<sup>218</sup> There is no doubt that such a location would benefit from the stabilizing presence of a vibrant, communal sanctuary to a local god.

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<sup>216</sup> On the far-side of the border was the territory of the colonia of Norba (Cáceres), and also in the region of Turgaliium (Trujillo), the praefectura Turgaliensis regionis: a prefecture dependent on the colony of Emerita and mentioned by Hyginus 2 (Campbell 2000:136.35 cf. L.171 = T 136). It may have been this praefectura, rather than the territory of Norba, which abutted with the Emeritensis territorial border next to Sta. Lucía (as detailed in Goffaux's map 2006:52), but this cannot be said with certainty. As Le Roux points out, the agrimensores do not note that a praefectura needs necessarily to have been contiguous with a pertica (Goffaux 2006:52, 79; Le Roux 1999:266,275).

<sup>217</sup> This should be taken with a grain of salt, though; Ariño et al. have noted that archaeologically speaking it has only been possible to recognize the centuriated land south of the Guadiana, even though that north of this River is referenced in the ancient sources (2004:45-46).

<sup>218</sup> For more on this proposal, and the cult of Ataecina, see chapter five, section f.

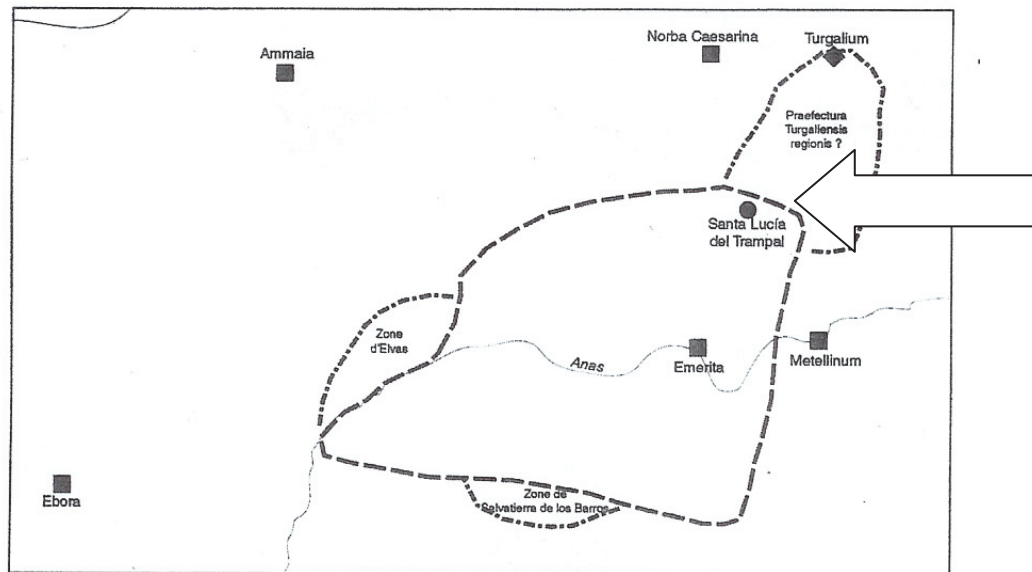


Fig.4.4: Goffaux's estimation of the borders of the territorium Emeritensis and possible praefecturae. The altar cluster of Sta. Lucía is shown by the northern border (2006:52).

Likewise, the hill-promontory of São Miguel da Mota, with its prolific collection of votive altars to Endovellicus, appears to be closely associated with the territorial limits of the conventus Emeritensis (though probably from the Pacensis side) (C.1.27). Cardim Ribeiro writes:

In actuality, there is a strong probability that, in that zone, the sanctuary of Endovellicus marked the border between the civitas of Eborā and one of the prefecturas which were dependent on Emerita – and, consequently, between the Conventus Emeritensis and the Conventus Pacensis (2005:742, my translation).<sup>219</sup>

In this assertion he follows the limits proposed by various authors of “Les Villes de Lusitanie Romaine” (Alarcão et al. 1990).<sup>220</sup> The border is considered to follow the Guadiana until it meets with the Luciféce River, whereupon it follows the course of this latter river until the vicinity of the sanctuary (fig.4.5). From here, it diverts northwards, running between Bencatel (on the Eborā side) and Veiros (on the

<sup>219</sup> “De facto, existem fortes probabilidades de que, naquela zona, o santuário de Endovellicus marcasse os limites entre a civitas de Eborā e uma das prefeituras dependentes de Emerita – e, consequentemente, entre o Conventus Emeritensis e o Conventus Pacensis” (2005:742).

<sup>220</sup> Gorges and Rodríguez (1999a) consider that the border continues to follow the Guadiana rather than branch inwards at the Luciféce.

Emeritensis praefectura side) (Cardim Ribeiro 2005:743, 765, fig.9; Alarcão et al. 1990:326).<sup>221</sup>

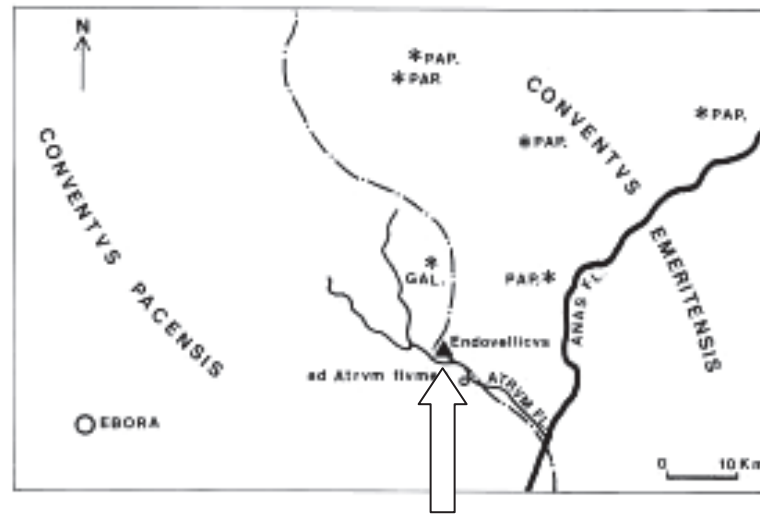


Fig.4.5: Cardim Ribeiro's map of the location of the sanctuary of Endovellicus (S. Miguel da Mota) in respect to the border between the conventus Pacensis and Emeritensis (2005:765, fig.9).

Other proposals for the extension of this praefectura of Emerita continue to follow the Guadiana River, and thus fall short of this sanctuary. However, all proposals are rather loosely based on the distribution of epigraphic testaments of people who belong to the Papiria tribe (of Emerita) and Galeria tribe (of Pax Iulia). In short, this border is ill-defined and could as possibly be located at S. Miguel da Mota as slightly west of there along the Guadiana River. The latter might seem a more natural demarcation. Still, from what we know of the Roman tendency to sacralize border regions, it is also possible that the sanctuary in question is, as Cardim Ribeiro has suggested, evidence of an important territorial division. In this case, the cult site at S. Miguel da Mota would be a quintessential 'border sanctuary.' As there were important marble resources in the immediate vicinity (see below), the sanctuary may have had the double purpose of clarifying the conventus/civitas to which these resources belonged<sup>222</sup> and functioning as an axis in the commercial diffusion of this resource.

<sup>221</sup> This division is argued by way of an epitaph indicating the Galeria tribe at Bencatel (IRCP 467) and two funerary monuments noting the Papiria tribe of Emerita on the Veiros side (IRCP 442, 461) (Cardim Ribeiro 2005:743).

<sup>222</sup> This hypothesis runs contrary to Cardim Ribeiro's suggestion that the loca sacra of the sanctuary would not have pertained to the territory of Ebora or Emerita, but to the divinity, Endovellicus, himself (2005:743). I see no reason for such a conclusion.



One final example of cult related to territorial boundaries, to be added to those of Sta. Lucía del Trampal and São Miguel da Mota, is the large rock-outcrop carved with a bas-relief, found in Cenicientos (eastern conventus Emeritensis) (C.1.9).<sup>223</sup> As was noted in the previous chapter, Canto proposed that this rock was a terminal stone marking the edge of the province of Lusitania (1994).<sup>224</sup> The location of this rock in a region with few other remains, and the religious iconography on it, are both suggestive of boundary cult. Yet, it is not clear what type of boundary is being marked out: the provincial borders hypothesized by the authors of the “Atlas Antroponimico de la Lusitania romana” fall c. 25km east of here (Navarro and Ramírez 2003). It is equally probable that this great rock may mark the division between two civitates (Obila and Caesarobriga), or even two communities or properties, closer at hand. This, in essence, remains the difficulty in assessing border cult: determining the type of frontier venerated.

In most other cases, however, it is more prudent to consider that the often small and private, cult spaces of Lusitania marked out local boundaries – limits of a property, town, village, pagus, or ethnic group – rather than territorial delimitations of civitates, conventus or provinciae. These minor boundaries were also potentially controversial locations, and as such they required the calm watch of a divine eye. Accordingly, in the *Commentum, De Controversiis*, of the land-surveyors:

If sacred buildings were being erected, in ancient times as far as possible they were established on a common boundary, where the boundaries of three or four holdings met. Each landholder gave a fixed amount of his land for that religious building and made a written record of the amount he had bestowed, so that on festival days the fields of these private individuals should incur no damage from people trampling over them. If a more extensive area of land was granted, it was to the profit of the priests of that temple (Campbell 2000:70.18 ff; trans. 71.26ff).

Of course, proving this relationship between a cult space and its relevant property or community borders is once again a thorny, or even unfeasible, task.

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<sup>223</sup> A small number of boundary markers found in Lusitania which were in the form of altars, attest to an initiative to signal the divine nature of these liminal zones (Edmondson 1992-3:27-28, footnote 75). Hyginus Gromaticus instructs surveyors: “...nevertheless in certain places we ought to set up stone altars, whose inscription on that side adjacent to the measured area should indicate a colony’s territory; the inscription on the other side, away from the colony, will indicate neighbouring communities. Where the boundaries produce a junction, we shall set up triangular altars” (Hyginus, *Constitutio [Limitum]* trans. Campbell 2000:157; also in Edmondson, *ibid*).

<sup>224</sup> She also posits that a *lucus* existed here. I have argued that this cannot be proven, nor can her assertion that a bear-print is carved on the posterior face of the rock, see chapter three, section f.2.

The rock inscription from Lamas de Moledo, though, may provide us with a glimpse of just this situation (C.1.18; Appendix III, no.5) (fig.4.6). It appears to include, in the sacrifice noted, two different communities who were each offering sacrifices to a certain divinity. Additionally, the inscription is overseen by two men, which is evident in the line: “Rufinus et Tiro scripserunt” (the only Latin line in the inscription).<sup>225</sup> It is possible that these men, who were perhaps local elite of the region, derived from two separate communities and consequently would have had a vested interest in symbolically marking the boundary between themselves and their neighbours.<sup>226</sup> The rest of the inscription, (which is then inscribed in the so-called ‘Lusitanian’ tongue), corroborates this suggestion. It has been interpreted to record that the Veaminicori made an offering to Crougea Magareaigoi, and the Petravioi to Iovea Caielobricoi (although variant spellings have been put forth for these names: e.g. Caelobrigoi/Caielobrigoi; Magareaicoi) (Appendix III).<sup>227</sup> Thus, there appear to be two groups involved in a ritual act (the Veaminicori and the Petravioi); this again argues for a boundary scenario. Finally, Vaz has argued that the deities’ epithets refer to two local toponyms: the Magareaigoi to the castro of Maga, located on a peak in front of Lamas de Moledo, and the Caielobricoi to Cela, a neighbouring town to Lamas (Vaz 1988:353 and 1995b:108; Olivares Pedreño 2002:153).<sup>228</sup> If he is correct, then this rock inscription is a religious testament that not only records two Latin overseers, but also two ethnic groups who belong to two neighbouring

<sup>225</sup> Concerning the possible implications of the Latin introit and ‘Lusitanian’ text of this votive inscription and that from Arroyo de la Luz I-II see: Alfayé and Marco (2008:296 ff).

<sup>226</sup> In contrast, the similar inscribed slab from Arroyo de la Luz I-II only records a single person responsible for documenting the inscription = Ambatus.

<sup>227</sup> The first is offered an angom lamatigom (/lamaticom) which Prósper (2002:65) interprets as a ‘sheep of the pasture’ (cordero de los pastos), and the second a porgom (/porcom) which is universally translated as a pig (Santos 2007:179).

<sup>228</sup> Balmori had also suggested a link between the local Outeiro de Maga (hill of Maga) and the Magareaicoi/Magareaigoi of this inscription (1935:112). Curado (2002:76, footnote 7) disagrees with the relationship between Magareaicoi and the hill of Maga, as we do not know how ancient this name is, but suggests that nearby Monte de São Macário, called the ‘Monte Magaio’ in Medieval documentation relates better (in either case, though, the term is linked with the immediate environment). Marco suggested that the Caielobricos mentioned on the inscription pertain to Caelobriga, a city which Ptolemy (*Geographia* 2.6.42) locates among the Coilarnos, and the Magareaicos may then pertain to the civitas of the Interamnienses (Viseu) (Marco 1996:88). See Curado for an argument against this (2002:76, no.7). In his 2009 publication, Marco appears to have abandoned his hypothesized link with Caelobriga [which he makes no mention of], though he still notes that the rock may be situated on a border between two civitates (2009:200). Nevertheless, as the civitates are not named, I am more inclined to see it as marking a division between communities.

communities. This would make it an apt inscription to be found in a local border zone.

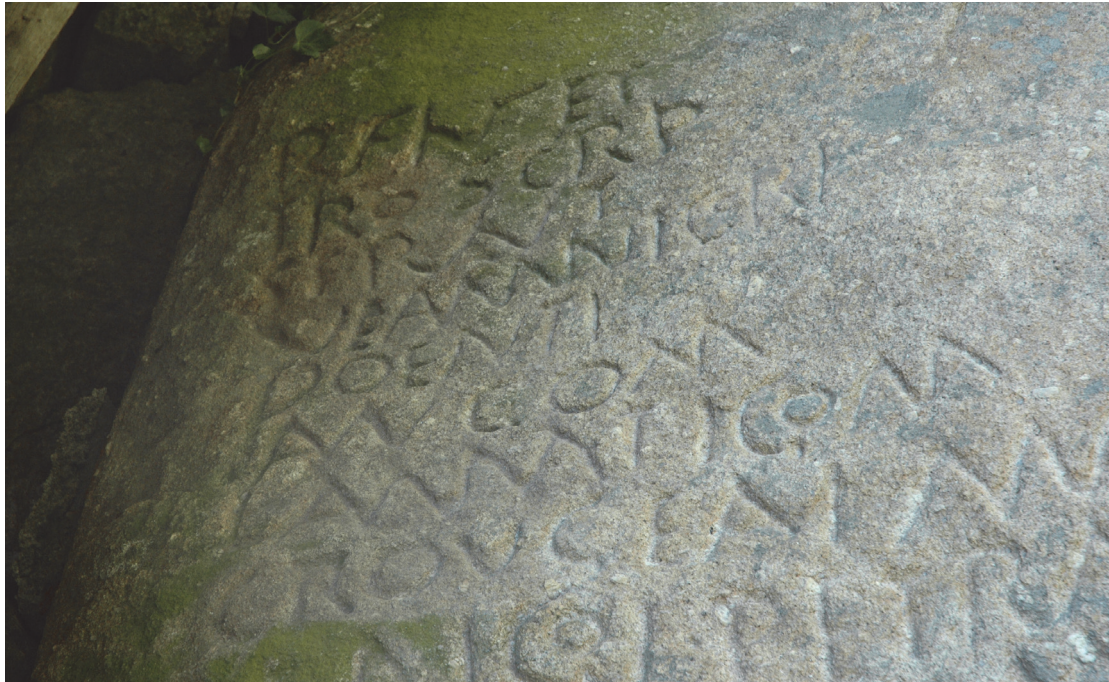


Fig.4.6: The rock inscription from Lamas de Moledo (Photo E.A. Richert)

It is tempting to regard other inscribed stones as testaments of boundary cult as well. However, in most cases this cannot be substantiated by their inscriptions. Similarly difficult to prove are numerous attestations that indigenous cult spaces from this region were located at the crossroads or borders of different ethnic groupings. I have chosen to highlight what I think are the best examples of worship on borders. If those cult spaces that fall on *civitas*, *conventus* or *provincia* borders belonged to an official initiative to mark-out territorial limits, this is not apparent in the available epigraphy. Therefore, there is no clear proof that the *civitas* capitals were intentionally stimulating cult activities on their own borders in this manner.<sup>229</sup> It is more likely that rural dwellers chose to set up cult space in boundary locations in order to associate themselves with their *civitas*, or perhaps as these positions fell close to pre-existing boundaries (of ethnic groups, communities, etc.) that

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<sup>229</sup> I am not denying, however, that urban inhabitants may have frequented these cult spaces, such as is suggested in chapter five concerning inhabitants of Augusta Emerita and the sanctuary of Sta. Lucía del Trampal.

precipitated reverence. Finally, considering what is known of Roman boundary veneration, it is also possible that any number of the cult spaces and monuments of rural Lusitania marked out and sanctified local divisions between properties or villages. Such sacred markers may have left little trace for posterity; one is reminded of Ovid's description of neighbours joining together at borders of their fields to offer libations and foodstuffs, feast and sing, and spill the blood of a lamb or pig for Terminus (Fasti 2.639-658).

### **c) Cult sites in rural towns, villages and villae**

As we have seen, few of the countryside cult spaces can be proven by either sheer proximity or their epigraphy to have been maintained or erected by urban centres. Yet, most collective cult spaces would have required some organization and maintenance. For this reason, it is reasonable to assume that many of these sites – be they private or communal – owed their existence and preservation to towns, villages and rural properties, either being a part of these or being located nearby. Here, we might consider Pliny's letter stating:

I am told by the soothsayers that I must rebuild the temple of Ceres which stands on my property; it needs enlarging and improving, for it is certainly very old and too small considering how crowded it is on its special anniversary, when great crowds gather there from the whole district on 13 September and many ceremonies are performed and vows made and discharged (Pliny, *Epistulae* 9.39, trans. Radice 1969).

This illustrates that cult sites may well have been set up or sustained by local property holders, and that, even in these cases, they could have received outside worshippers, at least on occasion.

Many of the small Lusitanian cult sites that I have catalogued were located in areas not surveyed or excavated, and it is thus difficult to distinguish the exact nature of the immediate, contemporaneous, man-made environment pertinent to each site. Then again, surface finds of construction ceramics and other building materials often recorded in the vicinity of these cult sites argue that many may pertain to private land-holdings or, perhaps, villas (see below). Besides these situations, a small number of cult sites have been documented in castros (fortified hill-top settlements), towns or possible vici.<sup>230</sup>

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<sup>230</sup> The rock inscriptions at the castros of Mogueira and Três Rios, and putative rock sanctuary at Ucha, were all presumably erected by individuals or groups within the respective communities (C.1.7,

### c.1) Cult sites and religious dedications from vici

Record exists of a couple of cult spaces within vici of rural Lusitania; like all of this province's religious manifestations, however, there is no common thread to associate these two spaces with one another, or to suggest an overarching formula for this type of cult. The first of these is a unique, monumental, ashlar-masonry temple that was converted into a Christian chapel, at Santana do Campo, in the conventus Pacensis (fig.4.7a) (C.1.26). According to Schattner, the best parallels for the Roman-period plan of this structure are the portico temples, the so-called temple à cour, characteristic of Roman North Africa (1995-7:508-512) (figs 4.7b and c).<sup>231</sup> This is intriguing as it suggests that the province's urban centres were not the only templates on which the rural Lusitanians might model their religious spaces. This temple is generally thought to belong within a vicus varyingly denoted as Calanta, Calantia, Calantica or Calantum (IRCP: Part II, 747). This name is gleaned from three small votive dedications – two found built into this temple and the other nearby – which venerate Carneus Calanticensis, as well as a limestone sepulchre inscribed with Calanthicence (Silva and Perigão 1998: Folha 437.3, III-1; Espanca 1975:32).<sup>232</sup> The importance of the temple's position, and its aptness as the site of a vicus, is reiterated by the fact that a road appears to have existed connecting it to the civitas

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1.8, 2.4). Another possible rock-cut shrine, denominated the Altar de São João, although outside a settlement is nevertheless very close to the 8th Roman town at Fornelo (Sendim) (C.2.1).

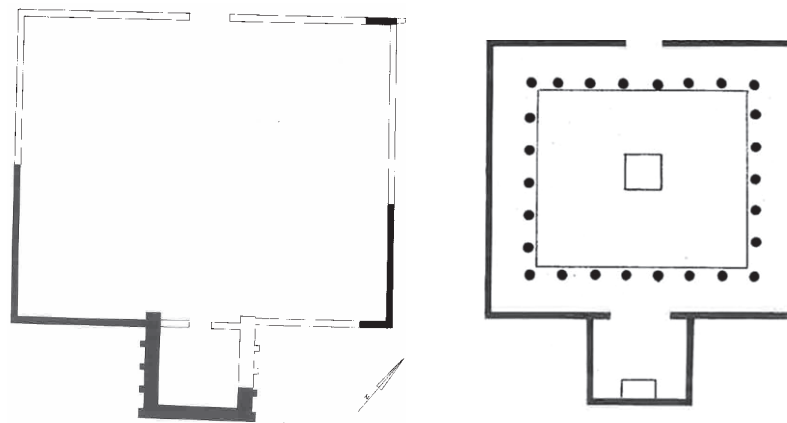
<sup>231</sup> Schattner puts forth the thesis that this temple at Santana do Campo is one of only two such temples from Europe which follows a pattern of courtyard temples, temples à cour, common to North Africa – the other being the temple of Eshmun-Aesculapius at Nora, Sardinia (Schattner 1995-7 and 1999). These courtyard temples are considered to have evolved out of pre-Roman Punic Africa and harken back to the Semitic temple with its Holy of Holies and outdoor enclosure for religious ritual (Ward-Perkins 1970:491-493). Ward-Perkins defines this group of temples as: "consisting of a sacred enclosure with a small inner shrine opening off it, at the same level or at most up one or two steps" (1970: 491). Tilmant notes three general, though not immutable, requirements of these courtyard temples: 1) a cella which is not raised on a podium in the majority of cases; 2) common lack of pronaos; 3) a large courtyard preceeding the temple (Tilmant 1989:10). Schattner's plan of the Roman temple of Santana do Campo appears to fit well into this category of courtyard temples, and meets Tilmant's three requirements. Nevertheless, similarities to the larger temple complex at Mirobriga also exist, as Hauschild duly notes, and cannot be ruled out as an influence on the temple of Santana do Campo (2002:219).

<sup>232</sup> The two altars found within the temple/church read: Carneus Ca/lantice(n)/si Caecilia / Q(uinti) f(ilia) NICVIS [- -] / R C v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit) (HEpOL 21214); and [Deo?] / Carneus Ca/lantice[nsi?] / Herme[s] / l(ibens) a(nimo) v(otum) s(olvit) (HEpOL 21215).

capital of Ebora (Silva and Perdigão 1998:33).<sup>233</sup> The putative vicus, therefore, would have been dominated by this monumental courtyard temple.



Fig.4.7a: West-side of the church of Santana do Campo, showing elements of Roman temple (Photo E.A. Richert)



Figs 4.7b and c: Left (b)= Schattner's proposed plan of the temple à cour-style, Roman temple of Santana do Campo. Black walls are extant, white are not (Schattner 1999:211, abb.7); Right (c) = Plan of a temple à cour (courtyard temple) (Tilmant 1989:10, fig.1 [rotated])

The second possible vicus cult space is situated at Quinta de S. Domingos, at the base of the hill of Cabeço das Fráguas – itself home to an important sanctuary, up until the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD – in the Beira Interior region of Portugal (conventus Emeritensis).

<sup>233</sup> For example see Silva and Perdigão: Folha 437:VIII, nos.2,28,32,39,63 (all vestiges of ancient road between Santana do Campo and Ebora). Alarcão and Mantas also argue for a road close to the site. The former scholar suggests that this road may have terminated at Santana do Campo, or perhaps linked Ebora with Scallabis and Tubucci (Alarcão 1988a:100). Similarly, Mantas has the road run north-west, splitting at Escaroupim to access both Scallabis and Ierabriga (Mantas 1993:227).

An inscription was set up here by the vicani Ocelonenses.<sup>234</sup> This was found along with a cluster of altars to Laepus (C.1.22). As others have noted, it is conceivable that the community that emerged at the base of the hill, fed by a population transfer from the hill-top settlement, was, therefore, the vicus Ocelona<sup>235</sup>; this name is interpreted to derive from ‘ocelum’ meaning ‘high place’ and to be a possible reference to the community’s origin on the adjoining hill.<sup>236</sup> Though various authors propose that a temple must have existed here under the current chapel, the recent excavations at the site by the German Archaeological Institute were unable to confirm such a structure. Imbrices, tegulae and worked ashlar, close to where the altars were found, are nevertheless suggestive of some cult edifice (Correia Santos and Schattner 2010:95). Moreover, as was noted in the previous chapter, the excavators did discover that a nearby spring bore traces of Roman-period use. Therefore, some type of cult site including ample votive altar dedications and perhaps venerating a spirit of the local waters, developed in this putative vicus. Both this cult space and that at Santana do Campo suggest a considerable degree of freedom in cultic expression within the countryside, even in the semi-official vicus context.

Once again, there is little to suggest urban involvement in the religious sphere of the vici, though there are instances where vicani themselves appear to have made efforts to associate with the official religion of the civitates. This is apparent from a series of inscriptions set up collectively by vicani, all of which were dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus (see chapter five, section b).<sup>237</sup> Through such dedications these townsfolk associated themselves with the deity of their new overlords – a god whose cult first took root in the official religion of the civitas capitals. It is critical to stress, though, that once again these dedications appear to have been made through local initiative, not that of the urban administration.

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<sup>234</sup> Vicani · / Ocel[o]n[e]/nses[ - - ] / [ - - - - ] (HEpOL 24515).

<sup>235</sup> Osório da Silva (2000:132) = vicus Ocellona or Ocellum.

<sup>236</sup> On the possible vicus here and its name derived from Ocelum (which may also have been the ancient name of the settlement on the hill-top of Cabeço das Fráguas) see: Alarcão, 2001: 315; Osório da Silva 2000:132 and 2002: 310; Fernandes et al. 2006: 185-191; Carvalho 2008:78; Correia Santos 2010c:137; Prósper 2002:109-110.

<sup>237</sup> An inscription dedicated by the vicus Segoabonca, to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, is quite possibly proof of a temple to this deity, which Fernandes et al. have argued may have existed further up the hill-slope overlooking the community (2006; C.2.15).



## c.2) Villa cult

Evidence for cult spaces on villa estates of early Imperial Lusitania is minimal.<sup>238</sup> Of course, it is quite possible that certain of the rural cult sites listed in this thesis' catalogue may actually have been part of villa estates or smaller rural properties (e.g. Las Torrecillas, C.2.11) but, yet again, a lack of excavation in their immediate environments means that this cannot be confirmed and we are consequently left with the impression that the cult sites existed separately from the villa landscape. Moreover, a cult space within a villa might have been as unobtrusive as a votive altar, in a small room, or a statuette in a *lararium*. In other words, the task of identifying villa cult is also made more difficult by the fact that the physical appearance of these spaces conflict with our standard impression of how a cult space should appear.

In effect, all altars that were found on villa estates of Lusitania testify to the existence of space allocated as sacred.<sup>239</sup> Take for instance, a small votive aedicula made of stone and dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. This was found within the baths at the villa of Quinta de Marim (Algarve) and, therefore, would have added a sacred dimension to this environment; perhaps, as Cardim Ribeiro suggests, it once held small altars or statuettes related to aquatic or healing cult (fig.4.8) (2002:466, no.133). Other items, such as statuary of deities, figurines, and mythological scenes on floor mosaics, sacralized space within the domestic environment.

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<sup>238</sup> This changed in the fourth century when a unique and similar series of gallery temples emerged in certain provincial villas, primarily of southern Lusitania (see chapter two).

<sup>239</sup> Torre de Palma = altar to Mars, found by the ancient basilica (HEPOL 23833; RAP 393); Pisões, Beja = altar to Salus (RAP 427); Casal de Freiria, Cascais = altar to Triborunnis (HEPOL 18502; RAP 198); Torre da Cardeira, Quintos, Beja = liturgical stone vase inscribed to dea sancta Turubricensis (Alarcão 1988b:Vol.II, 8/161); Herdade de S. Romão, Alvito = altar to the Lares (FE 1999, 280); Mina, Alcobaca = altar to Minerva (RAP 410); Bandurro, Sabugal = two altars to Quangeius and one illegible altar (Osório da Silva 2000:Vol.II, nos.11,12,19); Fundão, Fundão = altars to Trebaruna and Vigtoria (HEPOL 19978-9; villa site, Carvalho 2006:404,446); Probable villa at Tapade de Paianes, Nisa = altar with unknown deity-name (HEPOL 23846); Fonte Santa/Vale da Senhora da Póvoa, Penamacor = altar to I.O.M. (HEPOL 6451, villa site, Carvalho 2006:447, no.48). This list is not exhaustive.





Fig.4.8: Miniature votive aedicula from the villa at Quinta de Marim (Quelfes, Olhão), 74 x 34 x 60 cm (Cardim Ribeiro 2002:466, no.133, MNA 994.40.1).

Some villae of the early Imperial period, no doubt, were also adorned with actual, designated cult spaces; both Bassani (2005) and Pérez Ruiz (2010) list a number of small interior shrines within villae and domus of the Iberian Peninsula, though these derive almost exclusively from outside Lusitania.<sup>240</sup> The best – though still not indisputable – example of early Imperial villa-cult from the province in question comes from Torre de Palma (Alto Alentejo, conventus Pacensis). Here, a small, putative temple structure which dates to around the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, was found within the north-eastern sector of the villa complex (fig.4.9).<sup>241</sup> This is a rectangular edifice divided into two unequal spaces, suggesting a pronaos and cella, paved with opus signinum. As excavators Maloney and Hale note, no artefacts were found within this structure that might assist the confirmation of its sacred function

<sup>240</sup> There are a few known instances of domestic cult within large urban dwellings, or domus, for example see chapter five, footnote 281, for a mithraeum in a domus in Augusta Emerita. Similarly, Barata highlighted foundation deposits which were buried beneath floors of some of the domestic spaces of Mirobriga (1999). Finally, Pérez Ruiz (2008) argues that a large statue of a Lar, found somewhere outside Mérida but lacking an archaeological context, is a vestige of domestic cult.

<sup>241</sup> An excavator of the villa, Dr. John Hale, notes that the dating of this structure comes from a radiocarbon date taken from the mortar used in its construction, and analysed by Dr. Asa Ringbom of Abo Akademi, Finland. This was the earliest of the concrete and mortar dates taken from Torre de Palma, and according to Hale, the likeliest specific date for this putative temple construction is 100 AD (within a time-span of about 70 AD to the mid 2<sup>nd</sup> century) (I gratefully acknowledge that this information was provided via personal communication with Dr. John Hale, University of Louisville).

(1996:280).<sup>242</sup> However, its physical layout suits a temple, and the fact that it was not paved over or destroyed throughout the long history of the villa argues that it was considered sacred space. Its orientation is also different from that of the rest of the villa, suggesting it may have predated the major villa construction, and yet been retained within it. The small size and central location of the temple within the villa plan nevertheless suggest that it would not have catered for countryside worshippers at large (Maloney and Hale 1996:284).

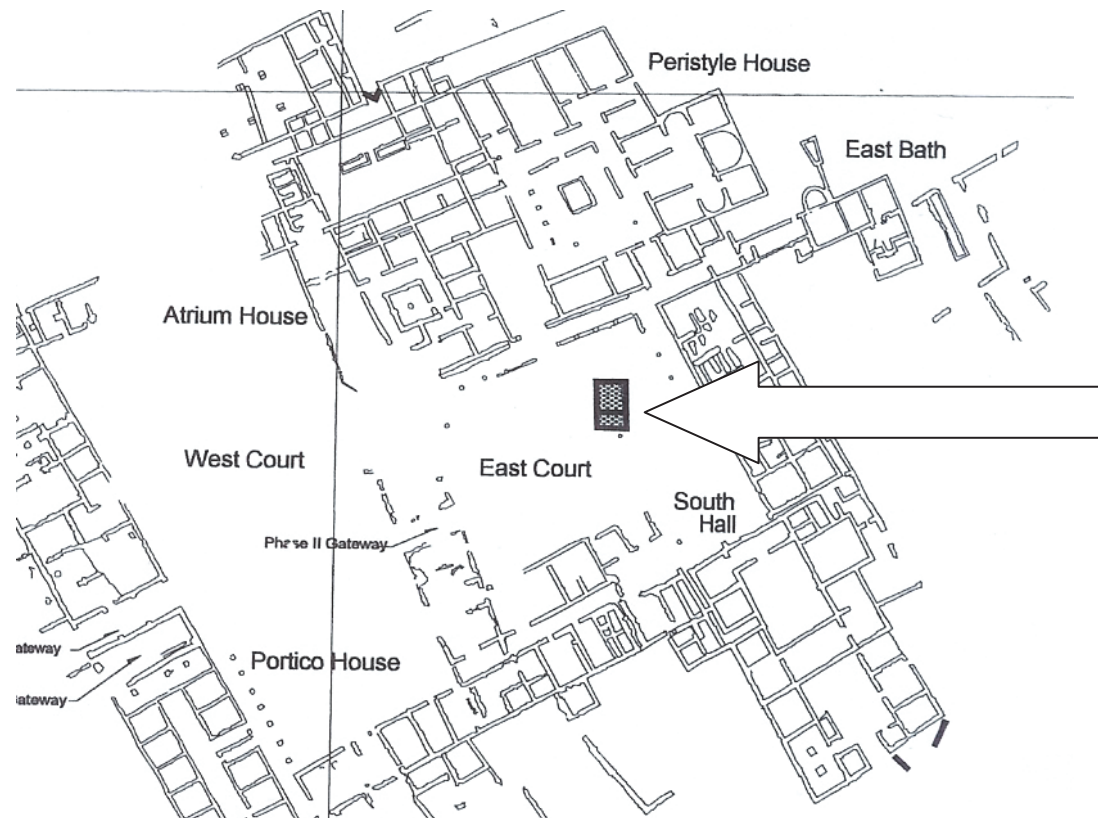


Fig.4.9: Section of Maloney and Hale's plan of the Torre de Palma villa (exposed buildings and phase 1), showing the putative temple in the East Court (Maloney and Hale 1996:277, fig.2).

Besides Torre de Palma, there are only a few other scattered hints of temples and shrines in provincial villas. Feliz Caetano da Silva argued that a possible temple may have existed at the villa in Sulatesta (Beja) of which next to nothing is known

<sup>242</sup> Another recent work by Lancha and André (2000) takes a more definitive stance on this temple and its supposed structural appearance (also followed by Bassani 2005:93). However, this is fiercely criticized by excavator Maloney, along with Huffstot, as inaccurate (see their criticism, Maloney and Huffstot 2002:140).

(Alarcão 1988b:Vol.II, 8/133).<sup>243</sup> Similarly, Viana posited that there was a ‘temple annex’ to the baths at another southern Portuguese villa, Monte da Salsa (Brinches, Serpa). We know little of this space or the baths that it was supposedly joined to; in spite of this, a statue of Aesculapius from the villa tells us of at least one deity significant to its inhabitants and perhaps worshipped at their baths (García-Entero 2005:392; Viana 1955:4). Finally, at the villa of El Saucedo, located just outside Caesarobriga (eastern conventus Emeritensis), the excavators posit that a small, square room with rounded corners, found in the area of the villa baths, may either be part of the bath complex or a domestic cult space (fig.4.10).<sup>244</sup> In my estimation, unless any votive material should someday be uncovered there, the former hypothesis is more probable, especially considering that the room is attached to the thermal complex of the villa.

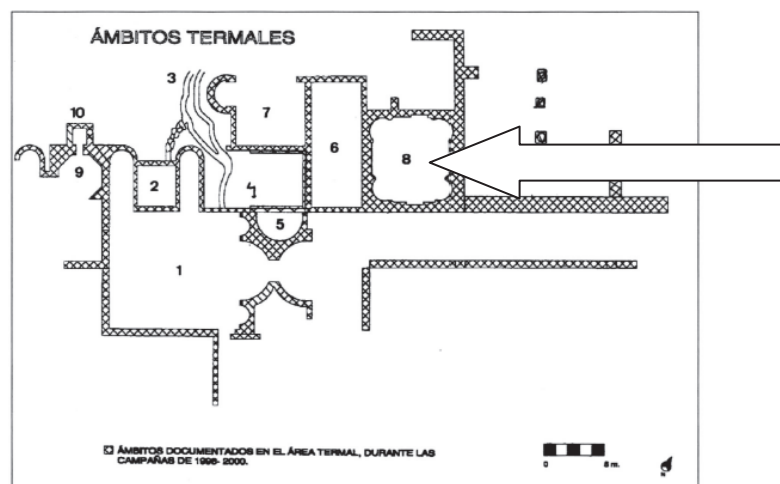


Fig.4.10: Plan of the thermal complex at El Saucedo, including the possible cultic space (no.8) (Aguado et al. 1999:201, fig.5)

What all these frustratingly poorly-understood examples reveal is that, at least in the early Imperial period, cult spaces within Lusitanian villae were difficult to

<sup>243</sup> Del Amo surveyed part of the area of the Roman villa of Vegas del Ortiga, close to the Roman colony of Metellinum, and recorded a hydraulic structure with well, which he interprets as a possible nymphaeum or pool. It is interesting to note that various ceramic, bronze and glass finds were found within the well (perhaps votive?) (1973:89-115). It is hoped that this site will be excavated so that these finds can be put in a more conclusive context.

<sup>244</sup> Aguado et al. record that similar rooms have been interpreted as domestic sanctuaries/lararia at the villas of Los Quintanares (Rioseco, Soria) and Los Villares (Santervás del Burgo, Soria) (1999:203; these interpretations are ‘risky’ though: see Pérez Ruiz 2008:284). However, they note that this room also parallels a sudatorium from a bath complex in Conimbriga, as well as certain other laconica and sudatoria from elsewhere in the Empire (1999:203-204). This peculiar room, along with the thermal complex, dates from the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD (Ibid: 205).

distinguish from the rest of the domestic layout, barring the possible case of the Torre de Palma temple. As a result, it cannot be assumed that villae formed a locus for religious worship in the countryside. With the fourth century, as we have already seen, a fascinating trend saw the erection of a series of gallery temples at certain southern Lusitanian villas (chapter two, section g). It was at this point that cult practice within villae came out of obscurity, where it was to stay well into the widespread florescence of Christianity.

#### **d) Rural cult sites and viae**

Many of the countryside cult sites were also situated in close proximity to transport routes. This relationship would have made it possible for cult spaces to receive migrant worshippers, eager to propitiate the local gods and secure blessings for their voyage. For instance, the varying origins of the dedicators at the hill of S. Miguel da Mota (conventus Pacensis), as noted by Dias and Coelho, not only bear out the widespread acclaim of this spot, but also indicate that it was easily accessible via a transport network, surely linked to the local marble industry (1995-7:233-266).<sup>245</sup> The migrant nature of this sanctuary's worshippers is further demonstrated by the lack of related settlement in the immediate environment of this cult space (C.1.27). Finally, inscriptions from this site, recording visions that presumably came to the worshippers while sleeping, show that some of these travellers could have been accommodated in associated lodgings.<sup>246</sup>

That the devotees at the sanctuary of S. Miguel da Mota may have stopped en route to make their dedications is a circumstance not unfamiliar to Graeco-Roman

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<sup>245</sup> It falls close to the important Route XII of the Antonine Itinerary which connected Olisipo (Lisbon), via Ebora (Évora), with the provincial capital Augusta Emerita (Mérida). Alarcão and Mantas both envisage a possible secondary extension of this route which would have given access to the sanctuary of S. Miguel da Mota as well as the marble quarries north of there (TIR J-29 reflects this proposed route) (Mantas 1993:227; Alarcão 1988a:98). In their recent excavations Schattner and team observed remains of an ancient road oriented north-south and running along the western slope of the hill. Though this may well have been an access route to the later chapel, as the archaeologists admit, its orientation nevertheless fits well with Alarcão's hypothesized road (Guerra et al. 2003:425).

<sup>246</sup> Once at the sanctuary the worshippers may also have undergone incubatio or taken part in oracular proceedings (Vasconcellos 1938a:203). This notion is largely derived from inscriptions made ex responsu (3), ex iussu numinis (2), iussu ipsius (1), ex imperato averno (1) and especially ex visu (1) in which the dedicator may be responding to commands of the deity passed on during sleep and/or from the underworld (IRCP:nos.484, 487, 488, 513, 522, 527, 528, 530). Marco Simón takes these inscriptions possibly relating to incubatio along with the sheer size of the votive assemblage, as evidence of priesthood (2005:323-4).

world.<sup>247</sup> Numerous inscriptions to the Lares Viales – a cult evidenced with frequency in Hispania, but very little elsewhere in the Empire – also attest to this habit in western Iberia (Marco 2007b:198; 200, footnotes 11-13).<sup>248</sup> Two of these, fittingly, constitute part of the altar cluster at Narros del Puerto (NE conventus Emeritensis), situated at the northern edge of a crucial pass through the imposing Sierra de Gredos (C.1.19; Hernando and Gamallo 2004:nos.338, 339).<sup>249</sup> At this spot, the traveller-devotee would either be about to embark on a steep journey into the mountains, or have just completed this: in either case, the situation is one which would elicit reverence.

Besides this, a string of small temples and other cult spaces sit along a stretch of the vital ‘iter ab Emerita Asturicam’ route – the veritable backbone of the province of Lusitania – especially where it runs through the civitas of Capera (fig.4.11).<sup>250</sup> This thoroughfare would have traversed the Ambroz River valley passing by the temple of Piedras Labradas (Jarilla) high up on a hill-slope, as well as the putative temple at Fuentidueñas, and the vibrant bath complex at Baños de Montemayor, where numerous votive altars were dedicated (C.1.3, 1.11, 2.10). The putative temple of La Lobosilla also would have stood in close proximity to the road, though perhaps just off of this on a secondary, perpendicular route (C.2.5). The small altar cluster recently found built into a chapel in Cerezo, is situated slightly further away (c.13 km), on the opposite side the Ambroz River (C.1.10). Further southwards, the altar cluster of Sta. Lucía del Trampal is also a mere c. 4km from this route, by an intersection between this and a route linking Norba and Metellinum (C.1.25) (García-Bellido 2001:55). Cult activity here (or in the immediate vicinity)

<sup>247</sup> See Marco’s examples from literature (2007b:203).

<sup>248</sup> Testaments of this cult are most commonly found in North-West Tarraconensis (/Gallaecia), though they are also evidenced in Lusitania. Marco notes that the almost exclusive predominance of this cult in Hispania has led many to argue that this was actually an indigenous cult in Latin guise (2007b:198,201-202).

<sup>249</sup> Hernando and Gamallo 2004:no.338 = Rebu[rrus] / Bedac(i)qum L(aribus) v(ialibus) / [I]lurbeda/[e] v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito); no.339 = Laribus / vialibus / sacrum / Iul(ius) Gaia/nus v(otum) s(olvit) / l(ibens) a(nimo). Though this road which runs through the province of Ávila, and by the Puerto del Pico close to this site, is unfortunately not detailed in the Antonine Itinerary or Ravenna Cosmography, it is evidenced to some extent through toponyms, antique references, and also by archaeological remains (Ferrándiz et al. 1990:184 ff).

<sup>250</sup> This corresponds to an important Roman roadway from the Mediterranean to Emerita, and then from there via Asturica (Astorga) to Caesaraugusta (Zaragoza), linking the coast with the metal resources of the north. In the Antonine Itinerary this is designated as two routes: the Iter ab Ostio Fluminis Anae Emeritam Usque, and the Iter ab Emerita Caesaraugustam (Ant It. XXIII, XXIV; Pérez Urban 2005:153).

might therefore have attracted voyagers en route, as is evidenced by an altar to the Lares Viales found at this site (AE 1995, 749).<sup>251</sup> The proximity of each of these cult spaces to this key route is a reminder that rural cult not only catered to the local country-folk, but also to travellers.

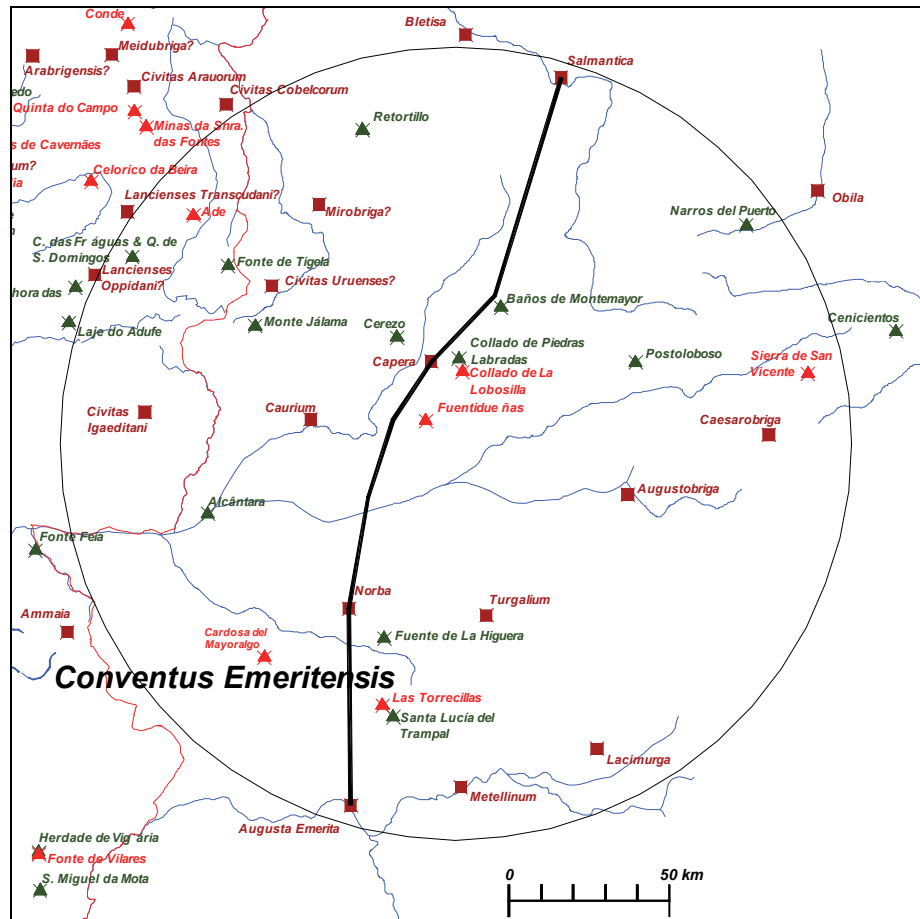


Fig.4.11: The general route of the iter ab Emerita Asturicam as it runs from Mérida through the province of Cáceres, with the cult spaces (green triangles) and possible cult spaces (orange triangles) that fall near to it (E.A. Richert)

One final and clear connection between roadways and rural cult space existed in the south of Lusitania. Here, three votive deposits of oil lamps have been found: one at the rural site of Horta das Faias, another at Santa Bárbara de Padrões, and a third at Horto do Pinto, in Ossonoba (Faro).<sup>252</sup> Maria and Manuel Maia have shown

<sup>251</sup> However, the vast majority of the altars from the site are dedicated to Ataecina. As is apparent in fig.4.11, the putative cult sites of Las Torrecillas and the spring and rock inscription from Fuente de la Higuera also sit adjacent to the Emerita end of this route.

<sup>252</sup> See C.1.16 and 1.24. Horta do Pinto was located in Ossonoba (a municipium) and is therefore omitted from this thesis' catalogue, although it is discussed in combination with the other two deposits in chapter six, section a. See also C.1.24, footnote 24, about the proposal that Sta. Bárbara was ancient Arannis, and my reasons for including it as a non-urban cult space.



that all three were in close proximity to roadways: a road running from Ossonoba via Arannis, to Pax Iulia, and a branch of this which runs towards Salacia, would have passed by each of the deposits (fig.4.12) (Maia [M<sup>a</sup>] 2000:23, 25-26; Maia 2006:39-45). As I will discuss in depth in chapter six, all three deposits are comparable in their make-up – almost exclusively oil lamps – and characteristics, as well as chronologies (Maia and Maia 1997:21; Franco 1970:161-196; Viana 1956:123-138). These equivalences suggest some connecting thread between the sites; those responsible for one might have been aware of the others. This scenario makes most sense if the devotees were, at least in part, migrant. One might imagine that merchants docking at Ossonoba and making their way inland via Arannis to the colony of Pax Iulia and perhaps on to the port of Salacia could have stopped and made these offerings to the divinities as they went, keeping their course propitious.

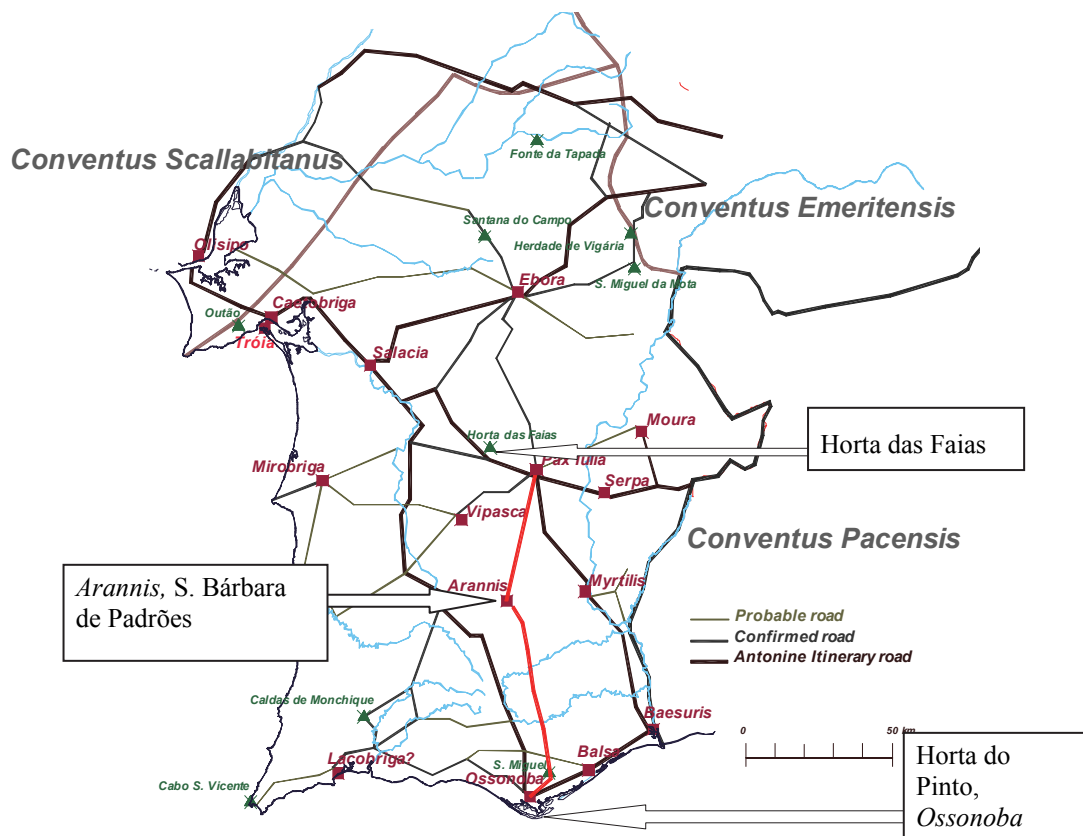


Fig.4.12: Proposed road network linking the votive deposits of Ossonoba and Arannis, via Pax Iulia, with that of Horta das Faias (map E.A. Richert, based on Mantas 1993:220; Maia, M<sup>a</sup> 2000:23, 25-26; Maia 2006:39-45).

These examples illustrate that cult spaces of all types and sizes may have related to the transport network of Lusitania. Larger edifices, like the temple of

Nossa Senhora das Cabeças which, as I noted above, was located on the same route as its potential civitas capital at Centum Cellas, may have functioned to promote the ideology and authority of the civitas, in a highly visible, well-trafficked location. As Scheid writes:

Through the sanctuaries situated along the major roads and out near the edges of its territory, the city controlled the latter and celebrated that control (Scheid 2003:75).

Others simply allowed the traveller, embarking across treacherous mountains (e.g. Narros del Puerto), travelling inland on mercantile business (e.g. the oil lamp deposits) or even setting sail into the rough Atlantic (e.g. Alto de Vigía, Cabo S. Vicente), a final chance to ask for divine blessing on their arduous tasks.

#### **d.1) Transhumance routes**

It was not only the important thoroughfares that may have been an ambit of cult, but also more humble transhumance routes and passes. Unfortunately, ancient transhumance is not widely researched in the context of Roman Lusitania, and is, moreover, difficult to appreciate archaeologically (Carvalho 2007:502; Edmondson 1992-3:24-5). The widespread existence of this practice in Lusitania might be extrapolated, however, through such post-Roman evidence as the 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c. AD Visigothic Law Code, which deals with issues concerning mobile flocks and herds, and through western Iberia's later renown for this activity, from the 13<sup>th</sup> century on (Edmondson 1992-3:24; King 1972:200-1;215-16, Klein 1920). It is tempting to view the rural cult places as a means of maintaining socio-cultural relationships established along transhumance routes.<sup>253</sup> In respect to the region of Beira Interior, in north-central Lusitania, Carvalho writes:

The ancestral character of movements and practices [in relation to transhumance] could also justify the Roman epoch survival of places of indigenous cult next to these trajectories (together with springs or in dominant points in the countryside), as a way to favour the celebration of those indispensable rituals – with the sacrifice of animals – which assured the protection of people and livestock (2007:504 [my translation]).<sup>254</sup>

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<sup>253</sup> Concerning the possibility of ancient sacred space being located along mobile pastoralist routes (especially in the region of Valencia), see Alfaro Giner (2001:226-228).

<sup>254</sup> “A ancestralidade de movimentos e de práticas poderia inclusivamente justificar a sobrevivência em época romana de lugares de culto indígenas na proximidade desses trajectos (junto a mananciais ou em pontos dominantes na paisagem), como forma de propiciar a celebração dos indispensáveis rituais –com sacrifício de animais –que assegurariam a protecção de pessoas e gado”(Carvalho 2007: 504).



Many of the small cult spaces found in Lusitania could potentially fit into this image that Carvalho draws of propitiation along transhumance routes.

At the very least, it can be said that many of these spaces correspond to a landscape apt for animal rearing and herding. Firstly, pre-Roman and Roman verraco (boar, pig and bull) statues of the Vettones testify to the importance of livestock in central Lusitania (Álvarez-Sanchís 1999). Secondly, ancient sources make reference to the predominance of cattle, sheep, goats, pigs and horses amongst the Vettones, Lusitanians and Celtiberians (Sánchez-Moreno 2001:400). Moreover, transhumance is suggested by numerous Roman bronze figurines of animals, especially goats, found in the Spanish and Portuguese Extremaduras, and also by abundant sheep sacrifices mentioned on the Lusitanian-language inscription from Arronches (Appendix III, no.1; Abascal 1995:95; Carneiro et al. 2008; Cardim Ribeiro 2010:57).

A mountain pass located south of Narros del Puerto, noted above, was not only traversed by a Roman road; indeed, scholars have also posited that it was a region of vital transhumance routes that were utilized in proto-history and thereafter into Medieval times (Ferrándiz et al. 1990:183). Speaking of the altar-cluster found in Narros del Puerto, and that at the cult site of Postoloboso south of this (C.1.19, 1.21), Hernando records:

...both [sanctuaries] are located in optimal positions with respect to traditional livestock passes which open in the Sierra de Gredos and channel the traffic towards the lands of Cáceres, one on the north side (that of Narros del Puerto) and the other on the south (that of Postoloboso, in Candeleda) (ERAv 243 [my translation]).<sup>255</sup>

Therefore, both sites may have seen similar transhumant traffic. Epigraphic evidence also points to a connection between the two cult spaces. As Hernando, among others, has pointed out, an altar was dedicated at Narros del Puerto by Atta Lugua Caraecicum wife of Ebureinius, and another at Postoloboso by Ebureinius Caraeciquum son of Curundus (ERAv p.243 and nos.134, 164). These altars demonstrate that Ebureinius and his wife, worshipped at each of these two sanctuaries, located on either side of the Sierra de Gredos.

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<sup>255</sup> “...ambos [santuarios] se encuentran en inmejorable posición con respecto al paso ganadero tradicional que se abre en la Sierra de Gredos y canaliza el tráfico hacia tierras cacereñas, uno en la vertiente norte (el de Narros del Puerto) y otro en la sur (el de Postoloboso, en Candeleda)” (ERAv p.243).

The deities at each of these two cult spaces appear to confirm the connection between either location and roads or paths. At the northern end of the pass, at Narros del Puerto, as noted above, altars to the Lares Viales speak to this link. At Postoloboso, at the southern end of the pass, the deity worshipped is Vaelicus; at first glance it is more difficult to argue for his relationship to roads or paths. Nevertheless, the etymology of his name is considered to be linked to the Celtic *vailos* = wolf (interestingly also reflected in the Spanish *lobo* = wolf, in the modern place-name, Postoloboso) (Albertos 1966:124, referenced in Marco 2005:308). As wolves would have been a clear threat to a mobile flock or herd, perhaps worshipping a divinity with dominion over such animals would be sensible. Thus, the locations and epigraphy from these two sites – Postoloboso and Narros del Puerto – hint at what was probably a much more widespread phenomenon of worshipping deities and conducting sacrifices along transhumance routes. Such activities would not only safeguard the flock and the herder, far from home, but help to recognize and propitiate boundaries between transhumance routes and rural properties.

#### **e) Cult space and industrial installations**

In chapter two, I noted how the sanctuary of São Miguel da Mota with its immense repertoire of marble altars and statues owes this, if not its whole existence, to a series of nearby marble quarries. Similarly, the three oil lamp deposits of southern Portugal, discussed above, may well have been fed from the vast supply of oil lamps necessitated by the Imperial mines of Vipasca. These were some of the first ritualized spaces to appear in rural Lusitania following the Augustan establishment of the province, and they show how vitally the industrial and sacred spheres were intertwined.

There is no material evidence for temples or large shrines built within industrial sites of Lusitania. Just as villas, baths, and other private properties appear to have been sacralized, in distinct areas, by the simple addition of the odd votive altar, rather than ostentatious cult structures, the same is true of the industrial sphere.<sup>256</sup> For instance, miners at a gold mine in Covas dos Ladrões (Alvares,

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<sup>256</sup> Obviously, the exception here is the above-mentioned villae temples of the 4<sup>th</sup> century onwards. However, the statement holds true for the focus period of this thesis.

Coimbra) set up two altars to the regional god Ilurbeda (Hernando 2005:153; RAP 154, 155; HEpOL 24156, 24157). Likewise, at Herdade de Vigária, in the conventus Pacensis the marble quarry was adorned with a bas-relief of a reclining fluvial god that sat over a spring in the quarry (fig.4.13) (C.1.15).<sup>257</sup> Finally, at the Roman salt mines of Tróia, Caetobriga (Setúbal), a bas-relief carving of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, argues for the local cult of Mithras (MNA 997.50.1).<sup>258</sup> The sacralization of workspace is, therefore, another facet that enhances our picture of the varied nature of countryside worship.



Fig.4.13: Relief carving of an aquatic deity from Herdade de Vigária: as seen removed from its original context, in the grounds of the Museu de Caça e Arqueologia, Vila Viçosa (Photo E.A. Richert)

## f) Conclusion

It is clear that the cult sites of Lusitania interacted in a myriad of ways with the built environment in which they were situated. To reach an understanding of this, it is helpful to avoid looking for an over-arching motif. Each site might have varied in the extent of its interaction with the other administrative elements of the civitas. Many would have gone unnoticed by all except the local property holder who

<sup>257</sup> As modern quarrying operations are ongoing here, this relief was removed from the quarry site and now sits outside the Museu de Caça e Arqueologia in Vila Viçosa, southern Portugal.

<sup>258</sup> The Museu Nacional de Arqueologia holds a copy of this piece; the original is missing (MNA 997.50.1). Its precise find-spot within Tróia is unknown.

frequented them, or the small group of shepherds who sacrificed together there. Nevertheless, all of the highly varied cult spaces had some dialogue with the territorial infrastructure of Roman Lusitania.

This is not at odds with their association with points of special natural appeal, stressed in the previous chapter. However, while numinous natural locations may have abounded in the countryside, it appears that those chosen for cult places were also closely associated with the territorial infrastructure of the province. For instance, though springs of mineral-medicinal water abound in Cáceres (as was noted in the previous chapter), those that were adorned with shrines/aedicula, or had votive altars erected next to them, were also to be found close to the important *iter ab Emerita Asturicam* and in relatively close proximity to the *civitas* capital at Capera.

Cult spaces of the countryside were rarely situated on the doorstep of their *civitas* capitals, but at some manageable 10 to 20 km distance away. In such a location these cult spaces would have avoided the villa-scape that skirted the larger cities, and yet been in locations suitable for *vici* or villages. This distance is not close enough to suggest that the civic environment was responsible for the rural cult spaces, nor does epigraphy imply this (except in the notable exception of the Alto da Vigia). However, a lack of evidence for urban stimulation of countryside cult, or ‘public’ cult in the rural environment, does not mean that rural worshippers were unaffected by civic models of worship. Undoubtedly many trends in the appearance of cult and deities being worshipped filtered into the countryside from the townscape (see chapter five). As we have seen, the rural environment responded to the ebbs and flows in the status and development of the urban sphere (chapter two). Even so, there does not appear to have been any obvious official agenda to promote transference of Roman religious habits from town to country.

Villae, too, do not appear to have held cult spaces of a magnitude or prominence to have catered for, or been widely felt within, the countryside, at least in the early Imperial period. Worship on these estates would have fit discretely into the domestic space, being as simple as the addition of a votive altar in a portico or at the baths, or a statuette in a little votive niche. The same type of localized, small scale worship, no doubt occurred in other smaller private properties, in industrial installations, or at rural bath complexes.

Occasionally, cult spaces in the countryside can be seen to have been located in border regions. These could be Roman territorial boundaries, but considering the nature of the cult in question, it is more probable that most border cult sites of Lusitania marked property limits and divisions between adjacent communities (as was argued in respect to the inscription from Lamas de Moledo, for example). This was surely an important function of rural worship, although it may very well have taken place without leaving a footprint on the archaeological record. Boundary cult meant that newly delineated territories of towns, villages and private land-holdings could solidify their hold on their land and promote harmony in that potentially divisive location.

In sum, these various findings illustrate the interconnectedness and convergence between religion and the territorial infrastructure of the countryside. They stress the value of grounding evidence of cult within its contemporary landscape. This can add a new dimension to studies of deities and dedicators. It also provides a reminder that cult activity was a product of its time, even if it was directed at an indigenous or presumed pre-Roman, deity.

## Part 3: Devotion

### V. Gods of the Lusitanian countryside

The aim of this chapter is to discover which deities were worshipped in the Lusitanian countryside and how this compares to those venerated in the urban environment. To achieve this, the focus of this thesis will be broadened from physical cult places and religious monuments of rural Lusitania to this province's entire corpus of Roman period votive inscriptions. This wider-ranging appraisal will help to shed light on the religious landscape of the countryside. This 'religious backdrop' like the natural, temporal or man-made is another important clue to understanding and contextualizing Lusitanian countryside cult.

Unlike physical cult sites, votive inscriptions of Lusitania have received a great deal of scholarly attention. Time and space do not allow for an assessment of all the competing theories about the various deities worshipped in the region; much of this will be left to the specialist epigraphists and etymologists. What this chapter will attempt to do is highlight the prominent trends and significant patterns apparent in the corpus of votive inscriptions found in rural Lusitania as well as certain important differences between the urban and rural environments. These will be analysed to discover what they reveal about the religion, social organization, and levels of interaction of the Lusitanian country-folk.

As noted, the main body of evidence for this chapter will be the epigraphic register, namely votive inscriptions. These constitute by far the best source of information on the subject of deities worshipped in Lusitania. Over 800 dedications which record pagan deities have been found in this province inscribed on votive altars, pedestals, and rock outcrops.<sup>259</sup> This count would be significantly higher if we were to include the numerous un-inscribed or illegible votive monuments from the

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<sup>259</sup> At the time of writing I have counted 703 inscriptions to pagan deities whose find-spot and deity-name is known. These were used in the charts below (figs 5.1 and 5.2) and the tables in Appendix IV. Including inscriptions which omit one or the other of these criteria, the total number of inscriptions I have collected reaches over 800 (however, see problems with such a count in footnote 261). This number does not include the vast quantity of anepigraphic altars found in the province, nor does it include dedications to the Emperor's cult, or the spirits of the dead (*Di Manes*) from funerary epigraphy. The number of deities recorded in the charts is slightly higher than the actual number of inscriptions as those bearing multiple deity-names are counted for each name.

region. These have been left out to accommodate a singular focus on the deities worshipped.

Although deities named on inscriptions will be discussed as either indigenous/local or Classical in this chapter, it is important to keep in mind that this distinction is for classification and did not necessarily register as significant in the mind of the local devotee (especially some centuries into the Roman occupation when the epigraphic habit had hit its zenith) (Arenas-Esteban and López Romero 2010:173). Of greatest importance to the devotee would have been to choose a divinity most suitable to their present needs whether that god was local or foreign. In fact, some parts of Lusitania were so thoroughly integrated into the Roman 'mores' by the height of the epigraphic habit, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> -3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, that what was foreign (or Roman) was local. Other parts changed their religious habits very little throughout the Roman episode, perhaps only adjusting the names of a few of their deities into the new vernacular. Eventually, though, a new provincial religion emerged which was customized to the needs and character of the individual regions and communities.

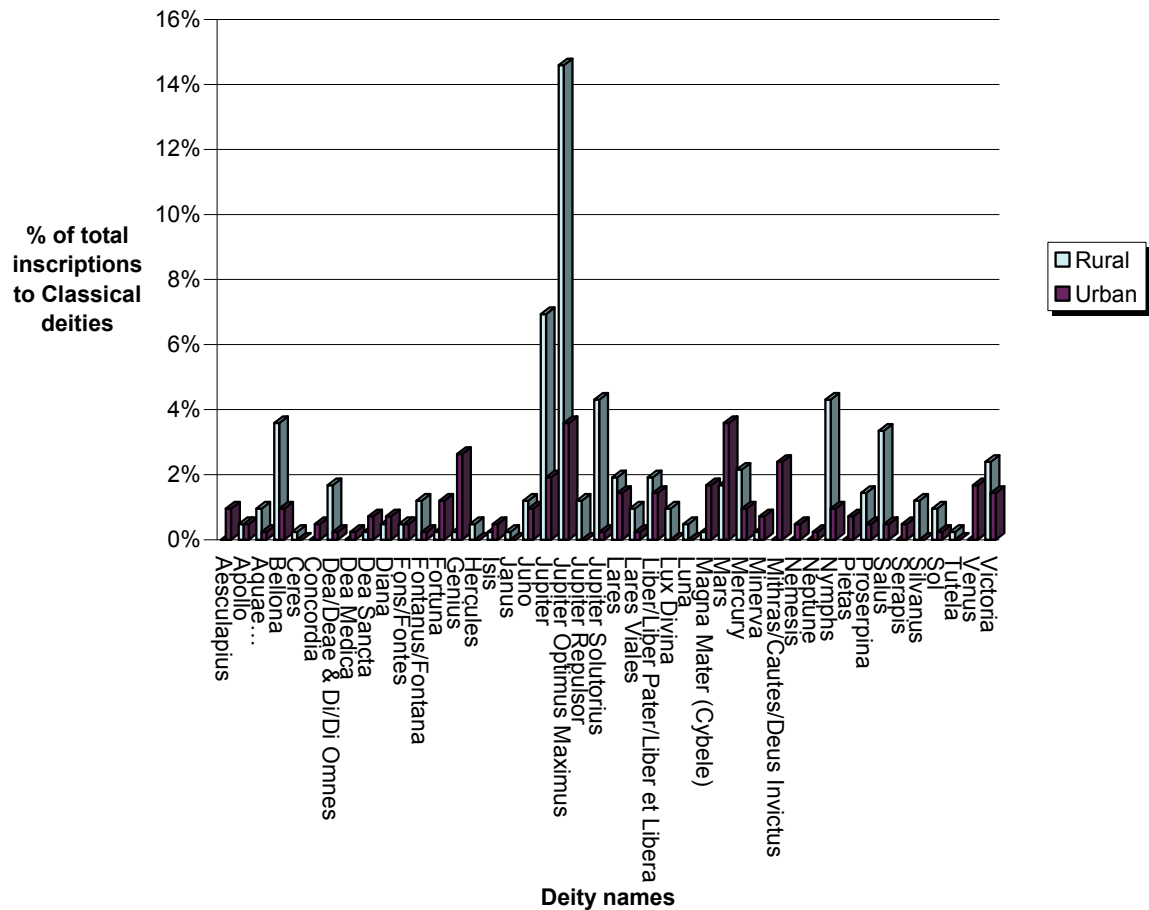


Fig.5.1: Classical deities on inscriptions from rural and urban Lusitania<sup>260</sup>

<sup>260</sup> The Deae/Deae and Di/Di Omnes category might also be considered to refer to indigenous deities as they often were accompanied by local epithets. This chart shows the percentage of the total number of inscriptions to Classical deities which can be attributed to each deity. For comparison's sake, the absolute numbers of inscriptions offered to each deity in rural [R] and urban [U] contexts are as follows: Aesculapius (R0;U4); Apollo (R2;U2); Aquae...(R4;U1); Bellona (R15;U4); Ceres (R1;U0); Concordia (R0;U2); Dea/Deae and Di/Di Omnes (R7;U1); Dea Medica (R0;U1); Dea Sancta (R1;U3); Diana (R4;U2); Fons/Fontes (R2;U2); Fontanus/Fontana (R5;U1); Fortuna (R1;U5); Genius (R1;U11); Hercules (R1;U0); Isis (R1;U2); Janus (R1;U0); Juno (R5;U4); Jupiter (R29;U8); Jupiter Optimus Maximus (R61;U15); Jupiter Repulsor (R5;U0); Jupiter Solutorius (R18;U1); Lares (R8;U6); Lares Viales (R5;U1); Liber/Liber Pater/Liber et Libera (R8;U6); Luna ( ); Lux Divina (R4;U0); Magna Mater (Cybele) (R1;U7); Mars (R7;U15); Mercury (R9;U4); Minerva (R1;U3); Mithras/Cautes/Deus Invictus (R0;U10); Nemesis (R0;U2); Neptune (R0;U1); Nymphs (R18;U4); Pietas (R0;U3); Proserpina (R6;U2); Salus (R14;U2); Serapis (R0;U2); Silvanus (R5;U0); Sol (/et Luna) (R4;U1); Tutela (R1;U0); Venus (R0;U7); Victoria (R10;U6). Also see Appendix IV. The limitations of this count are noted in footnote 261.



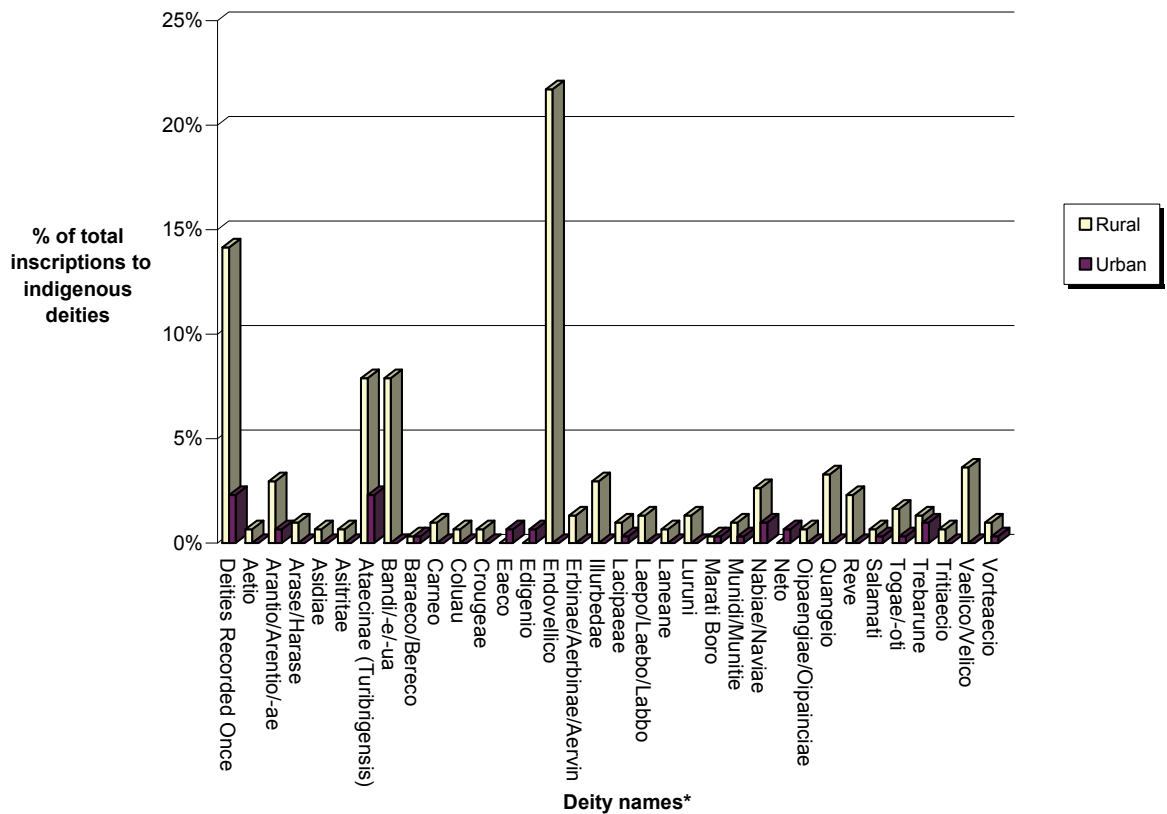


Fig.5.2: Indigenous deities on inscriptions from rural and urban Lusitania<sup>261</sup>

### a) Gods of the city, gods of the country

From the mid-1<sup>st</sup> to mid-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD the habit of erecting inscribed monuments to the gods spread prolifically throughout the Lusitanian countryside. In

\* Deity names in the ‘indigenous’ deity chart are shown in the dative as a nominative form is not known for certain gods (e.g. Reve, Bandua, Arase). However, the text of this chapter will refer to all deities in the nominative unless that form is unknown, in which case the dative will be used.

<sup>261</sup> These two charts (figs 5.1 and 5.2) show the deity-names which were inscribed primarily on votive altars, from both urban and rural Lusitania. Many other anepigraphic altars can be presumed to increase the actual number of dedications to certain gods as they belong to the same cult site where that god was worshipped. For example, Endovellicus would have c. 90 dedications including the anepigraphic pieces from S. Miguel da Mota. The counts of dedications to Vaelicus, Ataecina and Laepo/Laebo should also be higher for this reason. Finally, like the previous chart, this chart shows the percentage of the total number of inscriptions to indigenous deities which can be attributed to each deity. For comparison’s sake, the absolute numbers of inscriptions offered to each deity (listed again in the dative) in rural [R] and urban [U] contexts are as follows: Deities Recorded Once (R43;U7); Aetio (R2;U0); Arantio/-ae (R9;U2); Arase/Harase (R3;U0); Asidia (R2;U0); Asitritae (R2;U0); Ataecinae (Turibrigensis) (R26;U7); Bandi/-e/-ua (R24;U0); Baraeco/Bereco (R1;U1); Carneio (R3;U0); Coluau (R2;U0); Crougeae (R2;U0); Eaeco (R0;U2); Edigenio (R0;U2); Endovellico (R66;U0)\*see note above; Erbinae/Aerbinae/Aervinae (R4;U0); Illurbedae (R9;U0); Lacipaeae (R3;U1); Laepo/Laebo/Labbo (R4;U0); Laneane (R2;U0); Luruni (R4;U0); Marati Boro (R1;U1); Munidi/Munitie (R3;U1); Nabiae/Naviae (R8;U3); Neto (R0;U2); Oipaengiae/Oipainciae (R2;U0); Quangeio (R10;U0); Reve (R7;U0); Salamati (R2;U1); Togo/-a/-oti (R5;U1); Trebarune (R4;U3); Tritiaecio (R2;U0); Vaelico/Velico (R11;U0); Vortaeacio (R4;U0).

fact, as is apparent in the above charts, the non-urban realm outstripped the urban in dedications to Classical divinities by over one and one half times and to indigenous deities by seven and one half times.<sup>262</sup> This high proportion of non-urban dedications is partially due to the fact that their count includes not only wild backwaters and agricultural farmland but any community apart from *coloniae* and *civitas* capitals or *municipia*. However, it also signifies that the urban centres, though the seats of religion for the *civitas*, *conventus* and *provincia*, were not isolated poles of religiosity in the landscape. The epigraphic habit spread from them, initially, but was then adopted and nurtured within the countryside.

Of course, most votive inscriptions were not found *in situ* during excavations but were often discovered reutilized as construction material in later edifices. For this reason we cannot be completely certain where a votive altar originally came from. The conclusions which follow about the deities worshipped in the rural as opposed to the urban sphere, therefore, need to be taken not as concrete but as tentative. The sample is very large, though, which increases the likelihood of accuracy. Also, many of the urban altars can be concretely classified as such as they list city officials or are testaments of the municipal cult. Numerous inscriptions were dedicated to deities with topical epithets; these epithets provide us with the name of the place where these altars were erected. Furthermore, the majority of votive altars were made of locally available stone, primarily granite, which is not of great value and heavy to move and therefore we might assume votive altars were not transported great distances for use as building materials, after the Roman period. Finally, inscriptions on rock outcrops or inscriptions found along with other remains of ancient cult sites are to be found in their original locations.

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<sup>262</sup> See Appendix IV for a table of these inscriptions. The main publications consulted regarding these inscriptions are: CIL II and its supplement (1892); HEp (Vol.I, 1989 ff), HEpOL (=online database), FE (Vol.I, 1982 ff) and AE (Vol.I, 1888 ff). Specific regions are dealt with in: ILER [Spain]; RAP [Portugal]; IRCP [Conventus Pacensis]; Encarnação 1975 [Portugal]; Marques 2005 [Conventus Scallabitanus]; CPILC [Cáceres, Spain]; AvRo and AvRo<sup>2</sup> [Ávila, Spain]; Goffaux 2006:80ff [Mérida and area, Spain]; ERAE [Mérida, Spain]; Knapp 1992 [includes eastern Lusitania]; García de Figuerola 1999 [Sierra de Gata, Cáceres]; ERAv [Ávila, Spain]; Alonso and Crespo 1999; Hernández Guerra 2001 [Salamanca, Spain]. Publications dealing with individual inscriptions or sites are too numerous to list, and are covered generally by contributions in either: FE, AE, HEp or HEpOL. For future analyses of this topic new compilations and updated interpretations of inscriptions from Portugal, and parts of Spain, which are being conducted by the F.E.R.C.AN group, will be invaluable. Preliminary results from their reanalysis of the Portuguese local deity-names have recently been published by Encarnação and Guerra (2010:94-113). Their additions, omissions and reinterpretations have all been adopted in my list of inscriptions.

Though many deities' cults were spread from the cities to the country, emperor worship was primarily an urban phenomenon. Testaments of the cult come from the official context of the *coloniae*, *municipia* and *civitates* of Lusitania.

The cult of the Roman Emperor, alive or deified, was an essentially urban form of devotion (Bonnaud 2004:401, my translation).<sup>263</sup>

For this reason I have not included dedications to emperors within the charts or analysis relevant to this chapter. When we do, infrequently, find countryside dedications to the emperor's cult these were chiefly erected by urban inhabitants in their city's *territorium*.<sup>264</sup> Such was the case with the altar cluster at Alto da Vigia (Praia das Maças, Colares, Sintra) where we have already seen that three altars to Sol and Luna were set up by officials (C.1.2). One of these gives reason for the vow: for the eternity of the Empire and the health of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Geta and Julia Domna (Cardim Ribeiro 2002b:235). This, of course, does not directly venerate the emperor, dead or alive, but does record devotion to the Imperial family. Besides Alto da Vigia, there is the lintel dedicating the temple at the end of the bridge of Alcántara to Trajan; however, this has been convincingly proven to be apocryphal (Gimeno 1995).<sup>265</sup> It is, nonetheless, possible that this temple, itself, was originally dedicated to the emperor being that it was part of a monumental imperial building project. This possibility notwithstanding, emperor worship is uncommonly evidenced in the Lusitanian countryside and, even then, rarely a testament of local initiative.

Leaving emperor worship aside, many of the Classical divinities did come to have a foothold in the Lusitanian countryside. A quick tally suggests the most inscribed Classical deity in the countryside was Jupiter, followed by the Nymphs, Bellona, Salus, Victoria, Mercury, Liber/-a, the Lares, Mars, Dea/Di, Proserpina, Juno, Fontanus/-a, Silvanus and the Lares Viales. All of these deities had a minimum of 5 dedications, and Jupiter, topping the list, had over a hundred (see more on his worship below).<sup>266</sup> In comparison, dedications from the urban sphere tally as follows:

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<sup>263</sup> "Le culte de l'empereur romain, vivant ou divinisé, fut une forme de dévotion essentiellement urbaine" (Bonnaud 2004:401).

<sup>264</sup> This is, however, also sparsely evidenced in Lusitania (see chapter four).

<sup>265</sup> This inscription had generally been considered a later copy of a Roman original, however Gimeno proves that it was a 15<sup>th</sup> century creation due to rarities of the Latin text and of its varied recording in early modern sources. Nevertheless, I disagree with her further conclusion that the temple itself was only constructed in the 15<sup>th</sup> c. (see C.1.1).

<sup>266</sup> This includes: Jupiter, Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Jupiter Repulsor and Jupiter Solutorius.

Jupiter, Mars, Genius, Mithras (/Deus Invictus/Cautes), Magna Mater (Cybele), Venus, Liber, Lares, Victoria, Fortuna. Apart from the general devotion to Jupiter, above all others, these lists vary significantly. What is immediately apparent is that the eastern deities worshipped in the urban sphere are absent from the rural. Also, the canon of deities from the countryside includes deities with evident relationship to the land: to agriculture and viniculture; or to springs, other waters, and forests. Both these points will be discussed in further detail below.

Where both urban and rural realms were prolific in their worship of Classical deities it is the latter realm that accounts for the majority of dedications to local, indigenous gods. This is not surprising and has been noted by others in terms of western Hispania (Olivares 2002-3:207-225; Arenas-Esteban and López-Romero 2010:155, no.2). Similarly unsurprising is the fact that both rural and urban realms of the conventus Pacensis, which had had a great deal of interaction with the Mediterranean world prior to the Roman conquest, saw very few indigenous deities venerated during the Roman period.<sup>267</sup> The only noteworthy exception to this is Endovellicus. He, as has been previously stated in this thesis, was the recipient of nearly one hundred votive dedications, all at one specific spot: the sanctuary at S. Miguel da Mota (C.1.27).<sup>268</sup> This anomaly, and the 'Classical' character of this indigenous god, will be discussed further below.

Besides Endovellicus, multiple dedications were also made in the countryside to Ataecina, Bandua, Vaelicus, Quangeius, Ilurbeda, Arantius/-a, Nabia, Reve, Toga/-o; Laepus/Laebus, Trebaruna, Lurunis, Vorteaecio (each being named on four or more inscriptions).<sup>269</sup> The worship of three of these deities, Endovellicus, Vaelicus and Laepus/Laebus, was confined to single cult sites: S. Miguel da Mota,

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<sup>267</sup> However, it is worth noting Olivares' important caution that there is not always a contraposition between degree of 'Romanization' and the number of indigenous deities venerated. As he points out, the territories of the colony and provincial capital of Augusta Emerita and the colony of Norba Caesarina, have turned up many dedications to indigenous deities (2002-3:208). The same can be said of the prefectura of Turgalium.

<sup>268</sup> The tables of Appenix IV only show those 66 dedications from S. Miguel da Mota on which the deity-name can be made out. However, it is likely that most if not all of the dedications left at this site would have venerated Endovellicus.

<sup>269</sup> These are listed in descending order of dedications. Vaelicus should in actuality have a higher place in this list since I have not included 12 uninscribed altars from his sanctuary at Postoloboso which were probably also dedicated to him. Similarly, Ataecina's count is much higher than the 29 rural and 5 urban votive altars which I have recorded, if one includes the uninscribed altars from Sta. Lucía de Trampal. Nevertheless, this does not change her position in this list.

Postoloboso and Cabeço das Fráguas/Quinta de S. Domingos, respectively (C.1.4/1.22, 1.21, 1.27). The rest were more widespread in their cult; although, as we have seen, Ataecina had at least one important cult nucleus at or around Sta. Lucía del Trampal (C.1.25). Apart from these better known deities, nearly fifty non-urban dedications were made to deities who are only ever evidenced on one occasion. As I will suggest below, this speaks to a fervent tradition of worshipping tutelary deities intimately linked to a single place, people or family. This type of cult appears to be at the heart of the religion of the Lusitanian countryside.

In what follows I will highlight the important patterns in the corpus of deities worshipped in rural Lusitania. These help to characterize the nature of worship in this realm. They are also a gauge of interconnectedness and cultural homogeneity in certain regions and throughout the province.

### **b) Jupiter Best and Greatest: A rural god?**

The deity that emerges as the most prominent in a survey of those recorded on epigraphy from Lusitania is clearly Jupiter, often venerated as Jupiter Optimus Maximus or with other Latin epithets (see fig.5.1 and Appendix IV). This is unremarkable in terms of Hispania, or even the Roman Empire<sup>270</sup>, where Jupiter also stands alone in prominence (MacMullen 1981:5-7; Bonnaud 2004:394; Fears 1981:101). What is noteworthy is that the vast majority of these Lusitanian dedications come from the countryside.<sup>271</sup> In fact, 42%, or almost half, of all votive inscriptions made to Classical deities in non-urban Lusitania were dedicated to Jupiter (with or without epithets). In terms of the conventus Emeritensis, Romero argues that this may have come about when the Imperial cult displaced the Capitoline cult from the urban centres to the periphery (1994:48). The fact that all but one of the six collective inscriptions to Jupiter Optimus Maximus (/Jupiter) from Lusitania come from vici or castella rather than civitates would appear to corroborate this

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<sup>270</sup> North Africa is an exception to this point.

<sup>271</sup> Of votive inscriptions with definite find-spots to Jupiter (/I.O.M; Jupiter Solutorius; Jupiter Repulsor; or Jupiter with epithet), I count 113 from the non-urban realm and 24 from the urban centres. North-west Tarraconensis has evidenced the same phenomenon of abundant dedications to Jupiter from the rural context (Richert 2005:5).

argument.<sup>272</sup> These testaments also support Marco and González's assertion that it was through the cult of Jupiter Optimus Maximus that the *vici* and *castella* came to participate in the public religion (2009:70-1).<sup>273</sup>

But, the semi-official context of the cult of Jupiter/I.O.M. in these towns does not come close to accounting for all the rural dedications to this deity. Faced with the numerous votive inscriptions to Jupiter from the rural context, various scholars have argued that this cult was grafted over that of other pre-Roman divinities: in essence, making Jupiter a translation of a pre-existing divinity (Encarnação 2009:468-9; Curchin 2004:178 [cf. Celtiberia]).<sup>274</sup> Marco, for example, notes that the distribution of Jupiter dedications in Portugal is similar to that of dedications to indigenous deities, possibly indicating the assimilation of the one in place of the other (1999b:36). This is corroborated by the fact that Jupiter dedications recorded in Lusitania almost completely derive from the northern half of the province, the *conventus Emeritensis* and *Scallabitanus*, and are poorly evidenced in the more urbanized *conventus Pacensis*.<sup>275</sup> Besides, the fervor amongst the countryside population for Jupiter's worship suggests that it came naturally to them to revere a supreme-god, and quite possibly that one of similar characteristics existed in their local pre-Roman religious traditions. However, it cannot be denied that any, or all, of these dedications might also reflect a willingness to identify with the Roman ruling power and an appreciation of the effectiveness of the Roman supreme deity, well

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<sup>272</sup> These include: 1) I.O.M. by the *vicani Munenses* (El Castillo, Villasbuenas de Gata, Cáceres) (FE 2002, vol.70, no.314); 2) I.O.M. by the *vicani Segoabonca* (Quinta do Campo, Coriscada, Meda) (RAP 306); 3) Jupiter by the *vicani Tongobrigenses* (Brozas, Cáceres) (CIL II 743); 4) I.O.M. by the *vicani Camaloc[---]in* (Termo de Crato, Portalegre) (CIL II 170; RAP 271); and from an urban centre, 5) I.O.M. by the *civitas Cobelcorum* (Torre de Almofala, Figueira, Castelo Rodrigo) (FE 1998, vol.58, no.266). One further dedication was found in Resende (Resende, Viseu) by the *castel(l)ani* [- - -] to I.O.M. (HEp 10, 2000, 749).

<sup>273</sup> Though the authors are speaking here in terms of the *provincia Tarraconensis*, the statement is equally true of its western counterpart, the *provincia Lusitaniae*. It is primarily *vici* that are evidenced collectively erecting altars to Jupiter in Lusitania. There is one instance of such a dedication by *castellani* (in the footnote above). *Castellum* is a neuter, Latin denomination of a secondary town, of elevated position. These are frequently evidenced in north-western and central Hispania, and denoted by an inverted 'C' on inscriptions. In Lusitania, see for example the *castellani Araocelenses*, mentioned on a dedicatory inscription from S. Cosmado, Mangualde (HEpOL 16767).

<sup>274</sup> I have also argued the same point in respect to rural Jupiter worship in north-west Tarraconensis, though I now see the situation to be less straight-forward (see below) (Richert 2005:6).

<sup>275</sup> I have only counted three inscriptions to Jupiter (all as Jupiter Optimus Maximus) from the *conventus Pacensis*. Encarnação (1984 = IRCP) has a higher count as he includes Ammaia (Marvão) within the borders of the *conventus Pacensis*, rather than the *conventus Emeritensis* as it is now more commonly designated a part.

evidenced by the success of the empire. The desire to assimilate the conqueror's supreme deity need not have been restricted to larger or semi-official towns, but could even have been part of individual and private worship.

That Jupiter's cult became incorporated into the realm of personal religion in the countryside is also evidenced by the fact that, though he received a myriad of individual votive altars, there are very few countryside cult sites – large enough to have had multiple devotees – that can be confirmed to have been dedicated to him alone. Of course, there may well have been temples to him in *vici*. For example, in chapter four I noted that Fernandes et al. argue for the existence of just such a temple at Quinta do Campo, the *vicus* Segoabonca, due to an inscription found in Coriscada (3.4 km NE of the site in question) and certain remains (2006:182-5; C.2.15). The collective dedications made by *vicani* equally suggest organized cult of some sort. But, outside the *vici* contexts, there are no particularly large clusters of altars which venerate Jupiter like those which exist for indigenous gods Endovellicus, Ataecina or Vaelicus (C.1.21, 1.25, 1.27). The majority of Jupiter's altars from the countryside appear widely distributed and often independent of other cultic elements. When he is evidenced at rural cult sites, he is generally worshipped along with other divinities. For example, he is named on single altars within the altar clusters at Sta. Lucia del Trampal and Narros del Puerto (C.1.25, 1.19). These clusters suggest that Jupiter worship fit seamlessly alongside that of other local or regional deities (Ataecina and Illurbeda respectively) but was rarely the sole focus of collective countryside cult.<sup>276</sup> Of course, this conclusion is necessarily tempered by the fact that certain cult sites, such as the temple at Nossa Senhora das Cabeças, whose divinity is as of yet not conclusively identified, could have been dedicated to Jupiter (C.1.20).<sup>277</sup>

Leaving aside this conjecture and relying solely on the evidence available to date, it is clear that the veneration of Jupiter made inroads into countryside worship above and beyond that of any other foreign deity. He found public/collective cult veneration within the *vici* as well as a widespread humble and private or small-scale

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<sup>276</sup> The presumed deity-name *Iouei Caelobrigoi* from the rock inscription at Lamas de Moledo, is generally not considered to refer to Jove/Jupiter but rather to a female, indigenous deity (Santos 2005:49 ff for variant interpretations).

<sup>277</sup> The two votive altars located closest to the temple at Nossa Senhora das Cabeças, from the town of Orjais, were dedicated to Banda Brialaecus (RAP no.21 and 22; Carvalho 2006:441, no.17). Not far from here, though, at Quinta de Mourata (Orjais), an altar was found which was inscribed to Jupiter *Supremus Sumus* (RAP no.299; Carvalho 2006:442, no.18).

following. That there is hardly any evidence of temples, shrines or even significantly large clusters of altars devoted to Jupiter from rural Lusitania could reflect one of the following: 1) that collective cult places in the region tended to be erected for deities who held a special relationship to the given landscape rather than foreign deities; 2) that Jupiter was worshipped at certain rural cult sites but the evidence is lost; or, 3) that Jupiter was venerated in the open air and in a manner that has left little evidence. That his cult was so prolific in the countryside may suggest syncretism between Jupiter and certain local deities, and this possibility can never be ruled out. However, this is not supported, in the region in question, by any type of double-naming between Jupiter and an indigenous deity or by local epithets attached to his name.<sup>278</sup> Such epithets would suggest he had become linked to a given community, perhaps then replacing a local tutelary deity.<sup>279</sup> Rather, we can best account for his numerous altars in all contexts – public and private, urban and rural –by seeing them, on the one hand, as a reflection of a widespread desire to accrue favour from the Roman supreme god, and on the other hand, as a useful means of self-promotion within the Imperial setting.

### **c) Mystery cult and the city**

The popularity of Jupiter in the countryside is in direct opposition to the near complete absence of deities of the so-called ‘mystery cults’ in this realm. These gods are by all accounts an urban phenomenon in Lusitania as elsewhere in Hispania (Alvar 1981:60).<sup>280</sup> For example, sculptural works and epigraphy strongly suggest that there was a sanctuary to the Egyptian deities, Isis and Serapis, in Augusta Emerita. A mithraeum, hypothesized for a century on account of a collection of sculptures and inscriptions, has recently been brought to light through excavation in a suburban region of this same, important city (Alvar 2002:205-6; Barrientos 2001).<sup>281</sup>

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<sup>278</sup> One possible exception exists. An altar which reads: I M / deo Te/tae [- - -] / - - - - has been interpreted as a possible dedication to “Iovi Maximo deo Tetae” (HAE 410; CPILC 643).

<sup>279</sup> Jupiter does commonly receive local epithets in other western Roman provinces, of course. The mountain sanctuary to Jupiter Poeninus in Gaul is a case in point, as is a dedication to Jupiter Candamius, linked to the Monte Candamio in Galliaecia.

<sup>280</sup> On the terminology ‘mystery cult’ and ‘oriental cult’, its problems and limitations see Rives (2010:258ff). I agree with Alvar’s (2008) argument about their continued, qualified, validity (cf. Rives 2010:259-260).

<sup>281</sup> This underground Mithraeum was unearthed within a Roman domus in the immediate vicinity of the sculpture finds (Barrientos 2001:357-381). Parallel mithraea from domus and villa contexts of



Further Mithraea are suggested by a well-known triptych panel depicting the banquet of Mithras and Helios from the ancient industrial town of Tróia (adjoining Caetobriga = Setúbal), and possibly by an inscription set up to Mithras<sup>282</sup> by a sodalicium Bracarorum at Pax Iulia (Alvar 1981:54, no.16 and 2002:206; IRCP no.339; RAP 463). In the port city of Salacia a thin, lead tabella defixionis was found in the font within the Roman sanctuary which refers to the god Attis (Encarnação and Faria 2002:259-263; Guerra 2003:335-339; Marco 2004:79-94; Alvar 2008:67, note 130).<sup>283</sup> These cities were centres for the worship of mystery cults, and it is no surprise that two are coloniae and the other two port cities – all which were frequented by foreigners and significantly cosmopolitan for a wide marketplace of deities to thrive. Similarly, the soldiers of the Castra Caecilia brought eastern cultic worship to their camp, as is evidenced by an altar with the bearded head of Serapis depicted and a statue of Isis Kourotraphos (Alvar 2002:205-6). This is one of a small number of locations north of the Tagus to exhibit such cult. It is the more urbanized and more cosmopolitan south of Lusitania that accounts for the majority of the dedications to eastern deities.<sup>284</sup>

All of these examples illustrate the important presence of ‘mystery’ cults in urban Lusitania, and they raise the obvious question of what restricted their spread to the countryside. One thing is clear: this cannot simply be attributed to a lack of rural-urban interaction. Certain other cults which were popular in the urban centres did find some diffusion into the countryside, such as Jupiter and others to be noted below. Moreover, though low adoption of eastern deities may be characteristic of much of the rural sphere in the western Empire it is not always so starkly evidenced.

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Hispania have been found at: a domus in Lucus Augusti (Lugo, Galicia); a Roman villa at Els Munts (Altafulla, Tarragona); and, a Roman villa at Can Modolell (Mataró) (Alvar et al. 2006; Tarrats y Bou et al. 2007; Bonamusa et al. 2000; as quoted in Rubio 2003-2005:137-138).

<sup>282</sup> The inscription is to: [M(ithrae)] Deo Invicto (IRCP no.339).

<sup>283</sup> This inscription has been varyingly interpreted. Though all authors accept the dedication to Attis, the Domine Megare Invicto component of the inscription has caused controversy. Encarnação and Faria (2002:259-263) suggest that Megare relates to Megara the wife of Hercules (upheld by Guerra 2003:335-339); Marco (2004:79-94) that Megare is a incorrect version of Megale, and this refers to Attis, Gran Señor Invicto; Alvar, that Megare refers to the term Megaron, which he interprets in this context as the tomb of Attis (Alvar 2008:67, footnote 130).

<sup>284</sup> Apart from the obvious exception of the Castra Caecilia, the only eastern cult to find any foothold north of the Tagus was that of Cybele. She was venerated on inscriptions, from this half of the peninsula, at Obila (Ávila), Egítania (Idanha-a-Velha) [a sepulcher inscription which is set up “ante aed(em) Deae Magnae Cybeles”], Capera, and Conimbriga [which is extremely conjectural and not included in my count] (Vermaseren 1986:vol.5, nos.188-190; CIL II 805; HEp 14, 2005, 30).

In Gallaecia, for example, a rural, open air, rock sanctuary at Panóias was dedicated by Gaius C(...) Calpurnius Rufinus to Serapis, amongst other gods (Alföldy 1995:252-258 and 1997:176-246). Similarly Mithras, though little appreciated in rural Britain and Gaul, found a widespread following in rural Germany, east of the Rhine (Sauer 1996:58-9). Therefore the countryside and ‘eastern’ cults are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Perhaps this trend in Lusitania reflects the simple fact that these cults remained primarily important to foreigners who were significantly less represented in the rural than the urban realm of this province. Or, as Sauer has pointed out, perhaps there was simply greater tolerance of these new cults in the more heterogeneous religious climate of the city (ibid: 58). Finally, we cannot forget that the spread of these cults to peripheral provinces like Lusitania came much later than the initial spread of other Classical deities. In other words, there was more time for the Classical gods to diffuse and become a significant presence in the epigraphic register of the countryside. Like all foreign deities, these gods could not claim a history in the local landscape – which appears to have been a rather important factor in the rural Lusitanians’ choice of whom they worshipped.

#### **d) Gods of nature**

Chapter three highlighted the natural character of the spots chosen for many of the countryside cult sites in Lusitania and argued that nature-based worship was integral to the provincial, rural religion. As this subject has therefore been dealt with already in this thesis, I will not dwell on it extensively now. What is important to note is that the aforementioned conclusions about nature and cult sites in rural Lusitania are corroborated by the deities chosen for worship on votive inscriptions from the whole of this sphere. Among the most documented Classical divinities from rural Lusitania, (noted above), were various nature spirits such as the Nymphs, Salus<sup>285</sup>, Liber, Proserpina, Fontanus/-a, and Silvanus. Following these in frequency of dedications are those to the deified waters, Aquae.<sup>286</sup> For example, the Aquae Eleteses were worshipped next a thermal spring which flowed into the Yeltes River

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<sup>285</sup> I take Salus as a nature spirit because she is associated, in rural Lusitania, with thermal waters and their curative properties.

<sup>286</sup> From rural Lusitania I have counted 18 inscriptions to the Nymphs, 14 to Salus, 8 to Liber/Libera, 6 to Proserpina (3 w/Ataecina), 5 to Silvanus, 5 to Fontanus/-a and 4 to Aquae.

(Balneario de Retortillo, C.1.23; Fita 1913:543-5). Of all these deities, only Liber had a significant following in the urban sphere as well; however, he may well have been worshipped in his agricultural capacity in the countryside and as the Bacchic god of wine and revelry in the city.

Were we to have a definite understanding of the character of many of the indigenous deities the list of nature deities from rural Lusitania would undoubtedly be much longer. Scholars have argued, for example, that watery places were the haunt of the goddess Nabia and possibly Trebaruna; fertile pastureland and cultivated fields that of Ataecina (see below); mountains and rivers those of Reve and Salama, rocks that of Trebopala (Bonnaud 2004:389; Marco 2005; Richert 2005; Sánchez Moreno 1997:129-140; Olivares 2005). The canon of votive dedications from rural Lusitania, like the choice of locations for cult sites in this realm, speaks to a fervent belief in the sanctity of various natural phenomena. Clearly, expression of this belief through the material medium of the votive altar was more apt in the natural surroundings of the countryside than the constructed environment of the city.

#### **e) Endovellicus: a god for all seasons**

Jupiter is followed in his position as the deity with the most votive dedications in rural Lusitania by an indigenous god, Endovellicus. The curious cult of this deity has been studied by travellers, poets, historians, epigraphists and archaeologists alike, for centuries (C.1.27). It would be a Sisyphean task to attempt to do justice to all the theories about this deity and his sanctuary at São Miguel da Mota, or even to propose anything hitherto unmentioned on the topic. Nevertheless, the geography of deities worshipped in Lusitania – in fact, in all of Hispania – is markedly affected by the almost one-hundred votive dedications<sup>287</sup> and numerous sculptural pieces related to this god (see fig.5.2; Matos 1995:nos.61-108). For this reason, the cult of Endovellicus is a topic that cannot be ignored and without which our understanding of Lusitanian religion is partial and deficient. I will not enter into the debate about the etymology of this deity's name or that of his dedicators as this has been dealt with thoroughly by many scholars (Dias and Coelho 1995-7:233-265). What I want to concentrate on are two points which are important to our broader

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<sup>287</sup> The deity-name 'Endovellicus' cannot be perceived on all of these but is implied by their location.

understanding of Lusitanian rural religion. These are: the expressly local nature of Endovellicus, and the innovative, malleable and universal appeal of the god and his cult.

The cult of Endovellicus never experienced the regional diffusion of that of Ataecina (see below). All testaments to the cult were found either on the hill of São Miguel da Mota – where the original cult place existed – or built into edifices in the surrounding terrain (Guerra 2008:166).<sup>288</sup> The hill, in the undulating landscape of the Portuguese Alentejo, was both cult nucleus and sole residence of Endovellicus. It is therefore unsurprising that this local god derives his name from the pre-Roman vernacular of the area (Celtic). This fact would appear to suggest that his worship had pre-Roman antecedents, presumably still connected to the hill of São Miguel da Mota. Herein lays the problem. Recent excavations, being conducted by the German Archaeological Institute of Madrid, have found no evidence of a pre-Roman antecedent cult site here (Guerra et al. 2003:430). Thus, we are left to wonder whether this cult had previously been conducted in the open air and left no footprint of its existence, or could this inherently local cult have only emerged here during the Roman period?

These puzzles cannot be solved. What can be said, and what many have turned their minds to, is that the cult existed during the Roman Imperial period and took on the guise of a cult to a Classical deity. Guerra affirms this:

The iconography of Endovellicus is evocative of that of the Classical divinities: he is represented nude, with a mantle over his shoulder; the architectural elements, notably the Caryatids; the epigraphic tradition... (Guerra 2008:166, my translation).<sup>289</sup>

Therefore, in its relationship to the land, this was a local cult, but in its physical appearance it was universal. This was its appeal. In its material expression it was a monument that spoke to the effectiveness of the new ruling regime and its integration into the countryside. Therefore, it was also a place that the enterprising local elite and business people (especially those related to the local marble industry) might put their names to (Dias and Coelho 1995-7). For them it had the added benefit of being

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<sup>288</sup> See footnote 144 for theories about the relationship between Endovellicus and Vaelicus.

<sup>289</sup> “L’iconographie d’Endovellicus évoque celle des divinités classiques: il est représenté nu, avec le manteau sur le dos, les éléments de l’architecture, notamment les Caryatides; la tradition épigraphique...” (Guerra 2008:166).

something of a locally patriotic cult – intimately linked as it was to their land and its mythology.

Though Endovellicus never outgrew his roots in the local terrain, as we will see happened with Ataecina, his divine character broadened beyond that of a typical local spirit. This was probably an ongoing evolution which took place as his congregation of devotees expanded regionally, beyond those with specific ties to the given local terrain. Also, as his devotees began to personify their god in iconography, they did so through pre-existing Classical models. New worshippers to the shrine may then have made assumptions about his divine character based on this iconography. The various modern interpretations of Endovellicus – e.g. an Aesculapius-type, infernal deity, version of Sucellus, numen loci, and a Faunus/Silvanus-type – need not be mutually exclusive.<sup>290</sup> These interpretations are all derived from his epigraphy and iconography, and together they explain how a local spirit came to attract such a large and diverse group of worshippers. In short, the cult flourished because it was innovative and evolving. To this it owes its large congregation of devotees. Of course a couple of other factors were in favour of this site's success, it fell close to the new Roman territorial divisions of the conventus Pacensis and Emeritensis and, of course, to a ready supply of marble (see chapter four).

#### **f) Ataecina the goddess of the Turobrigenses**

The second most venerated indigenous deity in Lusitania, after Endovellicus, was Ataecina. Unlike the former, her worship was not isolated to a single nucleus.<sup>291</sup>

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<sup>290</sup> See, for example: Vasconcellos 1905: 125 [numen loci], 128 ff, 1938a:201 [Aesculapius-type]; Lambrino 1951:120-137 [infernal deity, possible Sucellus]; Toutain 1920:130-131 [numen loci]; Cardim 2005:730-750 [Faunus/Silvanus]. Many authors also see his character as a combination of these aspects.

<sup>291</sup> I have recorded 33 dedications to Ataecina from Lusitania (and 3 from elsewhere -see the next footnote, below). Ataecina is often invoked as Dea Sancta Ataecina. Therefore I have included dedications which only record Dea Sancta within this count as long as they come from areas where her worship is otherwise well attested. These include an altar from each Herguijuela and Sta. Lucía del Trampal. Two Dea Sancta dedications from Augusta Emerita are not included as the wide variety of divinities worshipped in this city makes it difficult to confirm who these dedications were meant to address (although I believe there is a good chance they may be for Ataecina) (more on this debate in Encarnação 1985/6:309). Outside the nucleus of her cult, two altars to Dea Sancta from the region of Quintos, Beja (conventus Pacensis) are included as one of these has the tell-tale epithet Turibrigensis (here spelt Turubrigensis) (RAP 54, 55). An altar from Herdade da Defesinha (Ouguela, Campo Maior) to Dea Sancta is not included in this count as there is no other evidence that point to the cult of

She is evidenced, primarily, at various locations throughout eastern Lusitania, especially in the fertile terrain between the Tagus (Tajo/Tejo) and Anas (Guadiana) rivers in what Abascal terms the triangle between Augusta Emerita, Turgalium and Norba (see fig.5.3 below; Abascal 2002:55). Outside this region, her cult is also evidenced by two altars from the conventus Pacensis, and single altars from the conventus Carthaginensis, Baetica and possibly another from northwest Tarraconensis.<sup>292</sup> On one occasion, a soldier belonging to a unit of the auxilia Hispanorum, set up an altar to this Hispanic goddess far afield at Cagliari, Sardinia (CIL X 7557).

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Ataecina in this area, and so Dea Sancta could refer to a different deity. A difficult inscription from Quelfes, Olhão which includes the term Turubrigensis cannot be confidently said to be a dedication to Ataecina (IRCP 37; RAP 617; HEpOL 23487), nor can another from Montánchez which only includes an 'A' of the deity-name (HEpOL 438; Goffaux 2006:86). For the way in which my list varies from Abascal's (1995:89ff) see fig.5.3 and its adjoining footnote.

<sup>292</sup> Bienvenida, Badajoz [Baetica] (AE 1991, 956); Saelices, Cuenca [conventus Carthaginensis] (CIL II 5877, ILER 738 and 1008); Quintos, Beja [Conventus Pacensis] (RAP 54, 55 = IRCP no.287, 288). The altar from northwest Tarraconensis comes from Padrón, La Coruña (AE 1993, 1029). It should be taken with a grain of salt, though, as it is thought that it may be a forgery (see Abascal 1995:87).

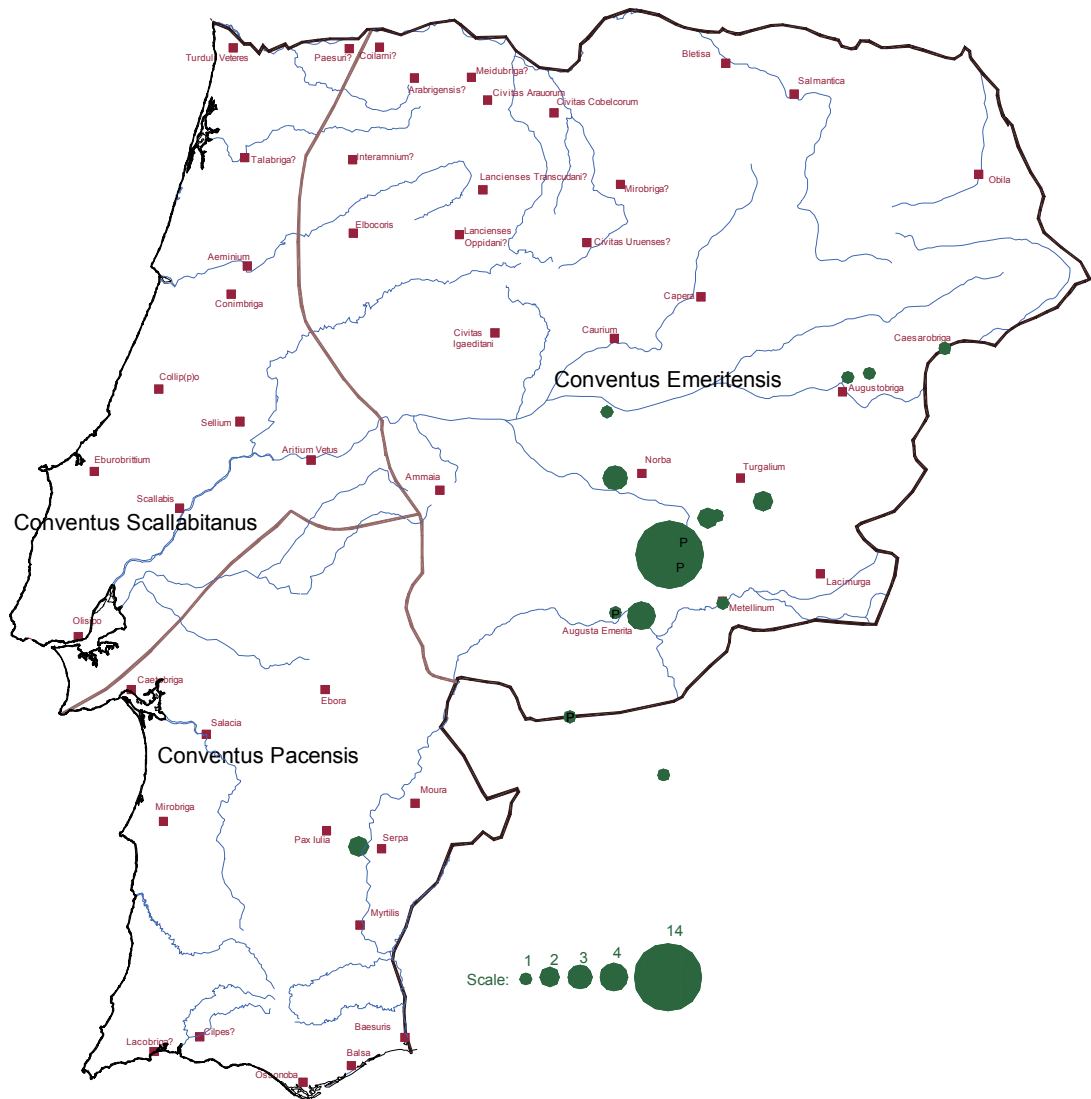


Fig.5.3: Map of dedications to Ataecina from Lusitania<sup>293</sup> (E.A. Richert, base-map based on Navarro and Ramírez 2003)

The concentration of these dedications in the area noted has led scholars to two conclusions which are not mutually exclusive. The first is that Augusta Emerita, and her adjoining road networks, played a special role in the diffusion of this cult

<sup>293</sup> This map is based on Abascal 1995:90, fig.55 with a few variations. I include 14 altars to Ataecina from Sta. Lucía del Trampal rather than 15 as he does, as I follow García-Bellido (1996:286, footnote 23) in reading of the altar set up by C(aius) Val(erius) Telesphorus, as to I.O.M. rather than Dom(inae), for the reasons she notes. I include an altar from Garrovillas de Alconétar, Cáceres (originally thought to derive from Cuenca but recently revised due to a drawing found in the Real Academia de Historia): “[D]o[minae]/ S(anctae) Tur(obrigensi) A(taecinae) / Ulens/es ara(m) / posuer/unt” (CIL II 5877; HEpOL 12160; Abascal and Cebrian 2004-5:no.3). I also include a second altar from Salvatierra de Santiago to Ataecina, though its interpretation is again difficult: “[D(eae) D(ominae?)] Turibr[i(gensi?) / Ad]aegin[ae] / - - - -” (HEp 1996, 6, no.241; Goffaux 2006:87; HEpOL 23300), and the Dea Sancta Turubric(ensi) and Dea Sancta altars from Quintos, Beja (RAP 54, 55). Dedications to Ataecina from Cagliari (Sardinia), Saelices (Cuenca) and Padrón (La Coruña, Galicia) fall outside the area of the map.

(Salinas and Rodríguez 2004:288; Goffaux 2006:67-69). Five dedications (and two other possible dedications) to Ataecina from this capital and its immediate surroundings help support this point (Goffaux 2006:80).<sup>294</sup> So too does the fact that she is evidenced, here, double-named with the Latin goddess Proserpina.<sup>295</sup> According to Abascal these dedications, along with the distribution of Proserpina altars south of the Guadiana, suggest that Emerita was the “area of contact for both cults” (2002:56; my translation). This ‘interpretatio’ of Ataecina with Proserpina meant that her cult was comprehensible in either the local vernacular or Latin.

The second conclusion, argues that devotees may have travelled from Augusta Emerita to her cult centre, in or around Sta. Lucía del Trampal (C.1.25). The preponderance of names which are popular in the urban realm, found on the dedications to Ataecina from the altar cluster of Sta. Lucía del Trampal, helps support this theory (Alfayé 2009:228; Sánchez Moreno 2000:254-256). The fact that Sta. Lucía del Trampal may have been an important border sanctuary – as is noted in chapter four – could have enhanced its attraction for the citizens of Emerita.<sup>296</sup> However, the two conclusions do not override each other. In other words, a cult nucleus at or around Sta. Lucía attracted worshippers from the surrounding terrain, including Augusta Emerita. Once the citizens in that city were familiar with this cult they also left testaments to it in their own environment – translating Ataecina’s name, on occasion, to suit a multicultural audience. That her cult thrived so well in capital and territorium reflects the fact that whatever it was that Ataecina was responsible for, as a deity, was of continuing and broad-based importance in the area.

So who was Ataecina and what were her primary functions as a deity? The etymology of her name – thorny issue that it is – has been argued to suggest she had

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<sup>294</sup> The two possible inscriptions are those which record *Deae sanctae sac(rum)* and *Deae sanctae*. Though Ataecina is often addressed with these qualifiers, we cannot tell definitively if these instances relate to her or another divinity (HEp 2, 1990, 34 and HEp 6, 1996, 134).

<sup>295</sup> There are two Ataecina-Proserpina dedications from Mérida or its immediate surroundings (CIL II 461 and 462) [\*Abascal 1995, 2002 has Cárdenas, Badajoz for CIL II 461]. One other from the adjacent province of Baetica was found at Salvatierra de los Barros, Badajoz (AE 1997, 815). A further inscription from La Garrovilla, Badajoz which reads “---- / Proserpinae...” cannot be proven to invoke both deities although this may have been the case (HEp 5, 1995, 76).

<sup>296</sup> Alfayé (2009:228-229) notes that the sanctuary’s importance was based in its cultural and territorial liminality, first noted by Marco (1996:86-87), and that such a cult place may have hosted periodic ritualized celebrations (though she admits there is no evidence to prove this).



some association with rebirth and the afterlife.<sup>297</sup> This seems to fit with the instances of double-naming evidenced between Proserpina and Ataecina. Like those of the latter, Ataecina's divine aspects have been taken to include both the chthonic and the fecund (Blázquez 1991:112). Her association with agriculture is reinforced by the fertile terrain around Sta. Lucía del Trampal (at or very close to which Ataecina had a sanctuary), and the surrounding region where her cult was especially strong. Small bronze goat figurines which appear to have been associated with her cult, and in some cases attached to altars venerating her, speak to a connection with animal herding or rearing (see more in chapter six, section c.2) (Abascal 2002:56, footnotes 37, 38).

Ataecina is invoked by her devotees in a number of ways and with various abbreviations. Most fully and most majestically, she is venerated as *Dea Domina Sancta Ataecina Turobrig(ensis)* (Abascal 1995:nos.3-5). This epithet, *Turobrig(ensis)*, is the component of the deity-name which is especially interesting. It gives us an image of a tutelary deity who belonged to a specific community. So why has an eminently local deity 'gone regional'? Perhaps, one of the locations where Ataecina is venerated with this epithet was the site of Turobriga itself. But, what of the other locations where her altars were found, replete with this epithet? At Augusta Emerita and its immediate surroundings, for instance, Ataecina was invoked with the *Turobrigensis* component on four occasions (Goffaux 2006:80). Why not *Ataecina Emeritensis/Emeritae*? The many tutelary deities of Lusitania – e.g. *Bandua*, the *Lares*, *Genius* – all generally take different epithets to relate to the different places where their cult is worshipped (see for example, Olivares 2003:307).<sup>298</sup>

There are a few possible reasons for the local *Turobrigensis* epithet to have been evidenced on a supra-local scale. Perhaps, the meaning of the deity and her cult evolved from that of a local protector into a deity of more broad-ranging significance (e.g. protector of crops and livestock, guardian in the afterlife, etc.) and the epithet

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<sup>297</sup> For more on the topic of the etymology of Ataecina, see Prósper 2002:287-307; full bibliography of the debate in Abascal 2002: footnote 30. Abascal 2002:54 and footnote 31, following J. de Hoz, refutes the often cited association of her name with the Irish *adaig*. Also see Olivares 2002:247 referring to Vasconcellos.

<sup>298</sup> One more similar exception to this exists: there are four altars to *Bandus Vortaeacus* (w/ variant spelling) which come from different locations (see Appendix IV).

was retained but lost its significance. Alternatively, the Turobrigenses themselves could have been displaced from their original community but continued to worship their local god from elsewhere (Olivares 2003:306-310). Or, finally, the cult may have centred on a sanctuary at a place called Turobriga, at or around the altar cluster of Sta. Lucía del Trampal (Abascal 1996:275-280 and 2002).<sup>299</sup> When the epithet was utilized outside this locale it would then have been evocative of this central cult nucleus.

The evidence is insufficient to conclude definitively in favour of one or another of these possible scenarios. A hypothesis which supports option two is worth noting, though. Olivares has argued that when the colonia of Augusta Emerita and its broad-reaching centuriated land was imposed on the countryside of Lusitania, under Augustus, various indigenous communities would have been displaced and their lands resettled by veterans (2003:306-310).<sup>300</sup> He posits that Turobriga was among these communities. Once displaced, the Turobrigenses continued to worship their local protector god, independently and collectively, from the many localities where they had ended up (ibid). Presumably there was some concentration of their population in and around Sta. Lucía del Trampal where 14 altars to Ataecina speak to a vibrant cult site in her honour (C.1.25). This conclusion brings to light a precaution which I will return to again below: that the geographic distribution of certain cults cannot be seen to have been static or unaffected by the Roman presence.<sup>301</sup>

One final point concerning Ataecina's cult needs note. This is the fact that, unlike with the vast majority of indigenous deities worshipped, there are instances in which this goddess was venerated collectively. These invocations are important as they speak to organized cult. Abascal notes that collective cult is suggested by an inscription from Malpartida de Cáceres which states "posuerunt" = "they erected the monument", and by another from Bienvenida, just south of the Lusitanian border, which has been very tentatively reconstructed to include: "[cul]tiribus suis collectis

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<sup>299</sup> This type of hypothesis is proposed by Abascal (see the above citations) who sees Turobriga as a possible vicus or pagus in the territory of Augusta Emerita, close to Sta. Lucía, and suggests its association with Las Torrecillas (c.7km from Sta. Lucía).

<sup>300</sup> See also, chapter four, section b.

<sup>301</sup> On this point, see Arenas-Esteban and López Romero's discussion of mobility and exchange in pre-Roman to Roman period populations of the western peninsula and the consequential "high mobility" of deity names (2010:171).

ma(gistri) f(ecerunt)” (2002:56).<sup>302</sup> A third altar should be added to these. This was set up to Ataecina by the Ulenses and has recently been found to derive from Garrovillas de Alconétar, Cáceres (CIL II 5877; HEpOL 12160; Abascal and Cebrián 2004-5:202-3, no.3). These dedications speak to a public component to Ataecina’s cult. Besides this goddess, Jupiter Optimus Maximus was the only deity commonly found named on inscriptions erected by collectives – vicani in most cases – in Lusitania. These collective dedications to Ataecina reiterate the acceptance of her cult at all levels of society, and in both urban and rural realms. They also illustrate that, although she may have been the deity of the Turobrigenses, these were not the only people to worship her. In other words, her cult had broad-ranging appeal which eclipsed that of a local numen.

### **g) The geography of rural worship: regional gods**

Certain of the deities’ cults appear to cluster in specific regions within Lusitania: a fact many scholars have noted.<sup>303</sup> Olivares, for instance, devoted an article to the topic of votive epigraphy of rural ‘Celtic’ Hispania and reached the conclusion that this corpus reflected strong regional peculiarities. He argued that the selective adoption of certain Roman deities in the rural environment was governed by existing indigenous cultural traditions in the respective areas (2006:151). This is no doubt one possible explanation for the clustering of certain deities in a specific region; it is often argued persuasively in respect to the distribution of indigenous deities (e.g. Santos 2009). A second explanation for this phenomenon is that it is a reflection of increased interaction and exchange within specific areas, or between towns and their hinterlands, during the Roman period.<sup>304</sup> And finally, a third explanation is that regional clustering may reflect the specific centrifugal and diffusive force of a single sanctuary. We need not adopt one explanation to fit all

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<sup>302</sup> Abascal accepts this interpretation first made by López Melero (Abascal 2002:56 cf. López Melero 1986:95). López Melero suggests the [1-3]iribus may have been a variant spelling of [su]toribus or [cul]toribus, though he favours the second hypothesis, which Abascal follows (1986:95). He notes that the term cultores might refer to any religious association or guild of rural land-owners (Ibid:96).

<sup>303</sup> See for instance an excellent new study by Arenas-Esteban and López-Romero, which includes GIS maps of the distribution of various supra-regional and regional indigenous deity names from western Hispania (2010:156-163)

<sup>304</sup> Olivares does also note the possibility of urban-to-rural influence affecting the pattern of deities worshipped with respect to the cult of Victoria around the civitas capital of the Igaeditani (2006:149-150).

instances of this phenomenon. However, the third option is poorly evidenced in rural Lusitania. Only one of the cult sites from this realm is located within a region in which the deity worshipped at the cult site also enjoys an ample diffusion in the surrounding territory (and is of a size and significance to suggest it may have affected this distribution).<sup>305</sup> This is the aforementioned cult of Ataecina, and her cult site of Sta. Lucía del Trampal. In most cases, where specific deities group in a set region, they tend to either cluster around an urban centre or fall in a diffuse pattern of various isolated, individual altars which suggest private, small-scale cult places. Therefore distinct regional clustering of certain deities in the province of Lusitania would appear to be best explained either as a continuation of the pre-Roman religious geography (related to specific ethnic groupings), or as evidence of Roman period regional town-to-country or inter-country interaction.

Clearly when it is a foreign deity that inhabits a specific rural region the former explanation becomes more difficult, unless the deity is argued to be an interpretation of a native god. Nevertheless, the latter explanation, of Roman period interaction is often simpler. One such example is the cult of Bellona. Nineteen dedications to this goddess have been found in Lusitania. All are dispersed throughout the countryside around Turgalium (Trujillo, Cáceres), a prefecture of Augusta Emerita (Olivares 2006:fig.10).<sup>306</sup> No other votive inscriptions to this goddess have been found anywhere else in Hispania (Goffaux 2006:73).<sup>307</sup> As Bellona is a warrior goddess, it is quite possible that her cult may have been brought to this area by the Roman army camped at Castra Caecilia. The cult clearly then became engrained in the region and possibly circulated from the city of Turgalium or the community at Herguijuela, a potential vicus thereof.<sup>308</sup> A recent find of an inscribed marble block from Turgalium, appears to corroborate the former as the cult nucleus (though there may have been more than one). This piece records the

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<sup>305</sup> Two of the deities noted on the rock inscription on the peak of Cabeço das Fráguas, Trebaruna and Reve, are also evidenced elsewhere in the conventus Emeritensis, but there is no particular reason to assume that this rock inscription was a nucleus diffusing this cult into the countryside.

<sup>306</sup> 15 of these 19 dedications come from the non-urban realm (see Appendix IV).

<sup>307</sup> As the original, Cappodocian goddess Ma-Bellona, she is evidenced on some coins from Hispania which pre-date this group of altars (see García-Bellido 1991:67). García-Bellido also suggests an inscribed slab with footprints cut out of it from Italica, thought to be a dedication to Caelestis, could be reinterpreted as a dedication to Ma Domina (Ibid:66).

<sup>308</sup> A large number of epigraphic pieces come from this town, including three altars dedicated to Bellona (CPILC 261, 262; ILER 319).

refurbishment, or erection, of a triclinium situated within a “fanum B[---]”. Due to Bellona’s prominence in the region the authors assume she is the deity to whom this fanum was dedicated (Carbonell and Gimeno 2005:7-16). This gives us a picture of religious interaction between countryside and urban nucleus. Inhabitants of the surrounding towns and villages may have come to Turgalium and worshipped in this fanum. So acquainted with this deity’s cult, they then venerated her in their own communities.<sup>309</sup>

Other cities may also have spread certain deities’ cults into their territories. Examples of this sort include: Capera and the nymphs, Augusta Emerita and Proserpina, and the civitas Igaeditanorum and the cult Victoria. This phenomenon was aided by the road-networks extending from civitas ad territorium (Salinas and Rodríguez 2004:282-4; Barberarena 2005:711; Goffaux 2006:66ff).<sup>310</sup> Similarly, Goffaux has argued that the cults of the indigenous deities, Ataecina and Lacipea, grew and spread through their integration into the cultic geographic of the provincial capital, Augusta Emerita (2006:66ff). Few other indigenous deities appear to centre their worship definitively on specific urban nuclei. Most such deities, whose cults are contained in particular regions, are evidenced primarily on votive altars from communities and private landholdings of the countryside. They demonstrate interaction in the rural environment in certain areas of Lusitania which evidently went on without obvious urban influence. They may also point out areas of indigenous cultural homogeneity.

This is precisely what many different authors argue is reflected in the map of indigenous deities of Lusitania, or western Hispania. For instance, it has been pointed out that the cults of Triborunnis/Trebaruna, Arentius/a, and Quangeius centre on the north-western sector of Lusitania where the pre-Roman populi of the Lusitani were based (Alarcão 2001:312). The cults of Illurbeda and Toga are thought to belong primarily to the region of the Vettones culture (Olivares 2005:614, 618). Bandua, Nabia, Reve and Cosus had supra-regional cults dispersed through wider areas of

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<sup>309</sup> By this time it was not primarily military or enslaved peoples worshipping Bellona, but local people with a variety of indigenous and Latin names (Bonnaud 2004:414).

<sup>310</sup> Marco suggests that Victoria dedications from the Beira Baixa may well be an assimilation of this deity’s cult over that of a pre-existing indigenous cult in the area (1999b:36). Barberarena also lists the prominence of Ataecina in the territorium of Emerita, which I will discuss below, and that of Vaelicus around Obila. In the case of Vaelicus, though, all the altars derive from one cult site – Postoloboso (C.1.21) (2005:711, 715).

western Hispania, from the Tagus northwards<sup>311</sup> (Marco 1999b:38; Alarcão 2001:312). To many this suggests broader cultural commonalities linking up the different pre-Roman populi of northern Lusitania (Olivares 2005:612).

Clearly, regions that worshipped comparable pantheons of local gods are likely to have had a certain degree of ethnic homogeneity. However, the case of Bellona reminds us that particular regions also adopted and propagated new divinities within the countryside. Indigenous cults may even have diffused or changed their orientation during the Roman period; this, after all, was a period in which many of the indigenous people relocated. As was noted above, Ataecina's epithet, Turobrigenis, relates to a single community and not a whole region; it may only have been in the Roman period that her cult dispersed. Therefore, we must be cautious in assuming that all the widespread or regional indigenous cults had the same distribution during the pre-Roman period (a time from which we have no evidence of their existence) as in the Roman. In some cases, they could have been local cults which were only writ-large with the population movement and reconfigurations, and the expanding trade and road networks that came about as a consequence of the Roman conquest.

That the interconnectedness of the countryside, facilitated by better road-systems and increased interaction in the Roman era, seems to have brought with it a capacity for certain cults to grow into regional 'trends' is further evidenced by the cults of Jupiter Solutorius and Jupiter Repulsor. Testaments of both have been found in the central region of the conventus Emeritensis (see Beltrán 2001-2:117-128, map 1, p.122).<sup>312</sup> The latter is named on five inscriptions from the countryside, and the former on eighteen inscriptions from the countryside and one from the city of Turgalium (Beltrán 2001-2:122-125; see Appendix IV).<sup>313</sup> Unlike the case of Bellona, there is no specific evidence to suggest that Turgalium was a central nucleus

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<sup>311</sup> Cosus is primarily found in the region of Gallaecia (along the Atlantic coast) and Asturia, and Nabia, though evidenced in Lusitania, is best represented in the conventus Bracarense (Marco 1999b:38-9; Olivares 2005:619).

<sup>312</sup> For more on the possible meaning of these epithets – Solutorius ('he who frees/liberates') and Repulsor ('he who repels') and the difficulty in making sense of them in the given context, see Beltrán (2001-2:127-8).

<sup>313</sup> My count has one more inscription than Beltrán's as I have included the difficult text to "[ - - Iovi / S]oluto/rio" from Caleruela, Toledo (HEp 4, 1994, 881). Though, I admit, this is definitely not certain. Some scholars suggest that a 'sanctuary' or other type of cult site to Jupiter Repulsor existed at Nisa, Portalegre (see C.2.7).

of this cult, though it may have been. What is interesting about Jupiter Solutorius and Jupiter Repulsor is that they are both unique to the *conventus Emeritensis* and not found anywhere else in the Roman Empire. Their worship is testament to interaction in the countryside. Only in a circumstance in which the region was especially interconnected could new cults like these have spread. Again, these examples call into question whether the distribution of cults to indigenous deities is completely predicated on the pre-Roman religion and ethnic groups or whether it could, occasionally, be a reflection of regional interaction and trends during the Roman period.

#### **h) Local gods**

One final, notable, particularity of this corpus of votive inscriptions from rural Lusitania is the overwhelming preponderance of local, tutelary deities. Many authors have noted this reality, which is also evidenced in Gallaecia. In fact, Marco sees the fact that a higher proportion of indigenous deities were worshipped in both Gallaecia and Lusitania than in the neighbouring Celtiberian region of north-central Hispania as a product of these peoples' "clearer tendency towards topic reduction of their deities" (2005:293). In other words, the large number of dedications to indigenous deities in the countryside can be explained by the fact that the local worship was very much structured around protection of the specific place/community. It is not hard to see that this type of religiosity would have been better served by local numina than foreign gods.

The numerous divinities only evidenced in a single location in Lusitania may also have been tutelary gods. The specific association of their worship to a certain community, family or clan would explain why their cult was not widespread.<sup>314</sup> The many (nearly 50 rural and 10 urban) dedications to indigenous gods whose names are only ever evidenced on one single inscription might also have been of such limited popularity because they were specific to a certain people or place.

On occasion these local gods had cult sites dedicated to them. For example, Docquirus, son of Celtus, set up what was probably his own private cult site, at

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<sup>314</sup> Arenas-Esteban and López-Romero note that these 'local' gods of Lusitania-Gallaecia, attested by single finspots, tend to have non-Celtic deity-names and pertain primarily to rural areas (2010:165).

Canas de Senhorim (Nelas, Viseu, Portugal), to a deity called Besencla (C.2.2) (Dias and Gaspar 2007:13). Perhaps this deity, who is not evidenced anywhere else, was of special relevance to Docquirus' family or the place where he lived.<sup>315</sup> Other local deities with cult sites include: the Peinticis (dative plural) at Castro dos Três Rios, Vaelicus at Postoloboso, Endovellicus at São Miguel da Mota, Lurunis at Vendas de Cavernães, and Albuclaincus at Sta. Eulália, Repeses (C.1.8, 1.21, 1.27, 2.16, 2.17). Though further epigraphic finds may someday change this picture, these sites appear to be the sole and specific haunt of each god.

Deities of apparent significance to a certain community were also, on occasion, worshipped alongside other regional gods. For example, as was noted in chapter two, Laebus/Labbus was one of the deities recorded on the rock inscription from Cabeço das Fráguas as well as via various votive altars found at the base of this hill, in the Quinta de São Domingos (C.1.4, 1.22). As these are the only known dedications to this divinity he appears to have been of special relevance to the location and its ancestral population (Curado 1984a:8, no.28). Among the deities recorded on the rock inscription on this hill-top were also Trebaruna and Reve, whose cults were evidenced regionally and supra-regionally, respectively (Olivares 2005:618; Alarcão 2001:312, 315-316).<sup>316</sup> Another inscription recently found at Arronches is dedicated to the otherwise unattested deity Broeneiae, who may be a local deity, along with Harase/Arase<sup>317</sup>, who is known on a couple other dedications, and the regional gods Reve, Bandi (Bandi Haracui) and Munitie (Munitie Carla Cantibidone) (all in the dative) (Appendix II, no.2; Carneiro et al. 2008:169,174). In

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<sup>315</sup> Three altars are set up by this same dedicator, one to Besencla, and two which omit the deity-name. Encarnação, among others, takes this type of omission to suggest that the deity was being worshipped at a cult site. As his worship was well established and solitary, the reiteration of his name would have been redundant (Encarnação 1985/6:310; Dias and Gaspar 2007:13).

<sup>316</sup> Trebopala and Iccona Loimina are also mentioned exclusively on this inscription. The reading of the text remains controversial, though, and various variants exist. Marco, for example, does not take Iccona Loimina as a deity-name and Prósper argues that Ekwonã is the only deity-name recorded here (Marco 2005:318; Prósper 2002:56). Similar to what I have noted above, Alarcão tentatively hypothesizes that the inscription's indigenous divinities reflect an order of ascending importance – from the protectors of the castella (Trebopala and Laepus), to the protector of the populus in which these castella belong (Iccona Loiminna), to a deity of a more general background common to the Populi Lusitania (Trebarune) and another common to both the Lusitani and Callaeci (Reve)' (Alarcão 2001:315-316).

<sup>317</sup> Guerra (personal correspondence, and Encarnação and Guerra 2010:95) argues that Harase was the same deity as Arasei, recorded on an inscription from Furtado, Fornos de Algodres, and Arase on an inscription from Meimoa, Penamacor (see Curado 2008:125-127).



each case, a pantheon of deities tailored to the specific location emerges. These include the *genii locorum* as well as the important gods of the wider cultural group.

In a few instances the link between place and deity is made more emphatic by the obvious similarities between the names of the two entities. For example, close to the *civitas Igaeditanorum* an altar was found dedicated to the tutelary god of these people, *Igaedus* (RAP 152).<sup>318</sup> Similarly, as was discussed in chapter three, the god *Salama* is etymologically linked to the *Monte Jálama*; a votive altar found near the base of this mountain speaks to his worship there and connection to the mountain (C.2.13). On many other occasions local appellatives were attached to Roman or indigenous tutelary gods. Examples of this sort abound in Lusitania. Two obvious instances are the Roman *Lares* and *Genius*. Cult of the latter is generally confined to the official environment of the *civitas* religion.<sup>319</sup> The *Lares*, though, came to have a significant representation in the countryside (see fig.5.4, below).<sup>320</sup> Besides being gods of the *domus*, their cult is often linked to a community or peoples, such as the *Lares Caiirienses*, *Lares Turolici* or the *Dii Lares Gapeticorum gentilitatis* (RAP 212, 213; HEP 13, 2003/2004, 250).<sup>321</sup> Names of people or places were also attached, as epithets, to regional indigenous deities such as *Bande/-i/-a* (dative),<sup>322</sup> *Reve* (dative), *Erbine* (dative), *Crouga*, *Carneus*, *Arentius*, and *Quangeius*.<sup>323</sup> The same happened with various Roman gods besides the *Lares* and *Genius*, such as *Mercury*, *Mars*, *Juno*, *Salus*, and the *Nymphs*. On occasion a local *numen* was invoked simply as *Deus* or *Dea* and epithet.

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<sup>318</sup> This was found next to the church of N. Senhora do Almortão, 7km east of Idanha-a-Nova (*civitas Igaeditanorum*). It was erected by *Caetronia*, daughter of *Vitalis*. Alarcão (2005:121) says there may have been a Roman temple here but this has not been confirmed archaeologically, and it seems just as likely that the altar derived from the city itself.

<sup>319</sup> In fact, but for one, all of the *Genius* inscriptions from Lusitania were found within the urban context. They often include the name of the city, e.g. *Genius Conimbrigae*, or in an official sense, refer to the *Genius Municipium*.

<sup>320</sup> The *Lares Viales*, whose cult is linked to the roadways, are evidenced on five rural and one urban dedication from Lusitania as well.

<sup>321</sup> See Marco 2005:295, for a discussion of how epithets attached to a deity-name might be descriptive or toponymic; these may refer either to a physical location, a group of people, or an anthroponym.

<sup>322</sup> This deity is inscribed with variable spelling. From Portugal, Encarnação and Guerra (2010:110, Table III) note the following variations: *Bandua*, *Bandue*, *Bandei*, *Bannei*, *Bandi*, *Bandu*.

<sup>323</sup> For a list of many such indigenous deities with topical epithets, and local deity names related to gentilitates, see Blázquez 1986:234 ff.

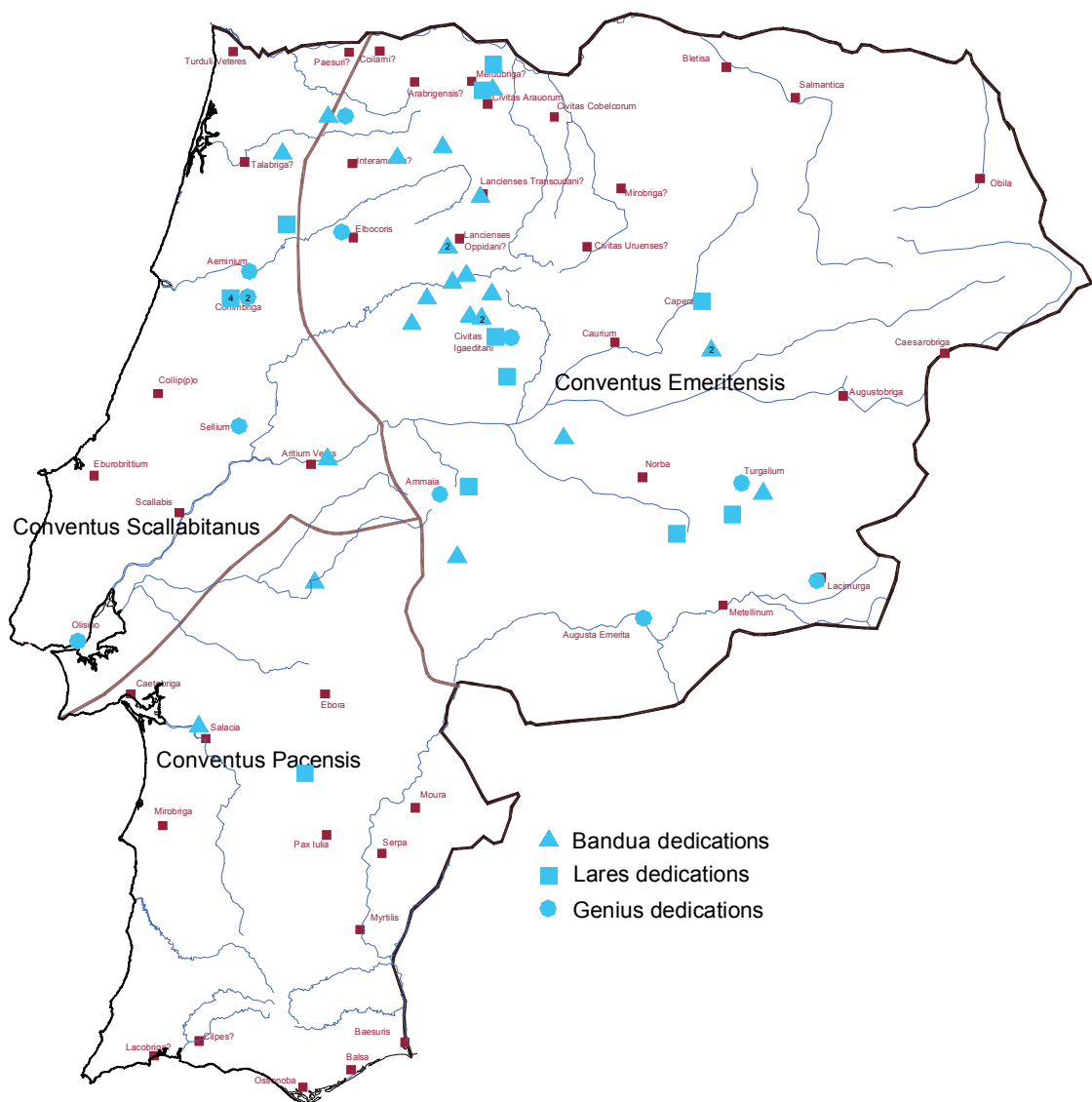


Fig.5.4: Map of Lusitanian dedications to the tutelary deities Bandua (dative), the Lares and Genius (E.A. Richert, base-map based on Navarro and Ramírez 2003)

Of all the indigenous deities with local epithets, Bandua was by far the most frequently venerated in the Lusitanian countryside (see fig.5.4).<sup>324</sup> This god is widely assumed to be tutelary in nature: a protector of the community or supra-familiar organization along the lines of a *genius* or *tutela* (Alföldy 1992:16; Blázquez

<sup>324</sup> This deity name appears in various forms in the dative, e.g. *Bande*, *Bandi*, *Bandeī*, *Bandua*. I will use the denomination *Bandua* for simplicity but the range of variation and the fact that the nominative form is not known should be kept in mind. For a map of *Bandua* dedications in all of western Hispania, see Blázquez 1986:230, Abb.31, or Arenas-Esteban and López-Romero 2010:157, fig.4. For more on this deity in Lusitania and Gallaecia see Prósper 2002:257 ff.

1986:229 ff, 234 ff; Prósper 2002:261).<sup>325</sup> This is reinforced by the patera from Cáceres, depicted at the start of chapter three. Fortuna – whose attributes are similar to Tutela – is portrayed on this, and it is inscribed to “Band(uae) Araugel(ensi)” (Blanco 1959:453-7; Marco 2001:214-216; Blázquez 1983:263, 295-6 and 1986:202-203).<sup>326</sup> Moreover, as suits a local protector deity, the vast majority of Bandua dedications include local epithets linking the god to certain communities.<sup>327</sup> Carneiro et al. note: “...the epithets of this divinity [Bandua] are preferentially topical” (2008:170, my translation).<sup>328</sup> Olivares notes that these epithets, which often refer to *vici*, *pagi* or *castella*, are evidence of the fact that: “there was a very special relationship between this god [Bandua] and the low-status indigenous communities” (2005:624). This is corroborated by the fact that no testament of Bandua with an epithet relating to any *municipia*, *coloniae*, or *civitas capital* has yet been found (*ibid*).

It was in the countryside that Bandua’s worship flourished as did that of many other local numina. Therefore, it is clear that, as Marco stated, the Lusitanians – and especially the rural inhabitants – tended towards topical reduction of their deities. As we have seen, this is evidenced by: 1) a large quantity of deities who were only ever recorded in one single place, and perhaps also by those only evidenced on a single occasion; 2) numerous local and foreign deities given epithets which relate to communities; 3) the high incidence of the adoption of *Lares* in the countryside (and *Genius* in the towns); 4) the prominent cult of Bandua. Not only were deities of the physical community worshipped, but also those of the social organization, the

<sup>325</sup> Prósper (2002:261, footnote 271) sees Bandua as a protector of entrances and eventually the whole of the community.

<sup>326</sup> For more on this piece, see chapter three and fig.3.1. For the association of Fortuna/Tyche with Tutela and Genius see Pena (1981:73). It is important to note, as Marco argues, that rather than representing an interpretatio of the male deity Bandua as the female Fortuna/Tyche, this piece is testament to the common process of representing a less well-known supernatural force, or local numen, through the Classical iconography of a *genius loci* or protector deity (2001:214-216).

<sup>327</sup> I have catalogued 24 dedications to Bandua (see Appendix IV). Another with uncertain provenance remains; it is dedicated to Bandi Malunrico (HEPOL 23123). All of these include epithets (except one of the possibles, where it can not be told) (CPILC 333). It is important to note, though, that five, and three possible, dedications invoke Bandi Vortiaeci (w/ variant spelling). Vortiacus (w/ variant spelling) was recorded alone on four other dedications from Lusitania (see Appendix IV). For more on Bandua and Vortiacus in the context of eastern Lusitania see Barberarena and Ramírez 2008:19-22. A dedication to Bandu Vordeaeco was also found in northwest Tarraconensis, at Seixo, Carraceda de Ansiães (AE 1991, 1039).

<sup>328</sup> “...são preferentemente tópicos os epítetos desta divindade [Bandua]” (2008:170). They also refer to further publications on this subject = Encarnação 1973:199-214 and 1987:5-37(especially p.10).

gens or gentilitas.<sup>329</sup> Two altars recently found in Alcains, Portugal, in an area of rural Lusitania, are a brilliant example of this fact. The same term “Poltu-” appears variously on the two altars as a component of the epithet of the deity (Asidia Poltucea), the name of the gentilitas (gentilitas Polturiciorum), and the name of the dedicator (Polturus) (Assunção et al. 2009). The deity-to-social organization link is, thus, emphatically made here. All of these expressions fall generally into the realm of tutelary deities, which have long been acknowledged to have held a special significance in western Hispania. The preponderance of this type of worship in rural Lusitania fits well with the overall thinly evidenced and often small scale, private character of the rural cult sites.

### **i) Conclusion**

No single and neat conclusion emerges out of an analysis of the dedications offered to deities in rural Lusitania. The old idea of direct correspondence between the rural environment and the worship of indigenous deities has already been discarded by many scholars (Arenas-Esteban and López Romero 2010:172-3). Though the rural realm was more fervent in their worship of local and regional deities, they also widely adopted Roman gods. Curchin writes:

Yet the urban—rural dichotomy provides only a partial explanation, since indigenous divinities are found in urban contexts and Roman ones in rural. Instead we must see the co-existence of indigenous and Roman cults in terms of an integration of two religions into a new, provincial religion in which both Celtic and Classical gods could be worshipped without apparent contradiction (Curchin 2004:192).

Perhaps the most conservative areas are those with the fewest dedications of any sort: those regions that chose not to adopt the Roman material medium of the votive altar or were not widely exposed to its use. This was not the case with most of rural Lusitania, though. As I have noted, this province, and especially its countryside, adopted the epigraphic habit with great enthusiasm. This in itself, regardless of who was worshipped, reflects two things: that there was a strong attraction towards the Roman manner of honoring the gods; and, that the countryside was in no way isolated from Roman material culture.

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<sup>329</sup> For votive inscriptions that make mention of indigenous social units, from the region of ‘Indo-European’ Hispania, see González (1986:67).

The deities privileged in the rural realm, as we have seen, include many related to natural phenomena. This fact fits well with the prominent natural localities often chosen as rural cult places (see chapter three). It also complements an obvious concern with deities related to the specific land or community, indicated by deities worshipped in single locations or only on one single occasion, and by deities with epithets linking them to social groups or communities (e.g. *Ataecina Turibrigensis*). This type of worship is most prevalent in the northern half of the peninsula, and especially outside the highly urbanized *conventus Pacensis*. In its distribution it parallels an equally pervasive phenomenon: Jupiter worship. Therefore, it seems there was a very logical preoccupation in venerating the gods of one's community (people or place) and of one's Empire. This was primarily served by local deities in the first instance and Jupiter (rather than Imperial cult) in the second.

In most cases, votive dedications were made by private individuals, rather than collectives (though various dedicators note their affiliation to a particular *gens* or *gentilitas*). There are two notable exceptions to this: Jupiter and *Ataecina*. It is no surprise that the former god was worshipped collectively as he would have held an integral place in the public religion, nor that his dedications, unremarkably, come primarily from *vici*. *Ataecina*'s case is more noteworthy, and the fact that one group which dedicated an altar to her appear to have been magistrates, again reiterates the fallacy in seeing indigenous cult as the specific purview of the country inhabitants.

The distribution of different cults in certain areas, or around specific urban centres is also significant. Though some such cases reflect pre-Roman ethnic groups and possibly continuity of pre-Roman religion, others were shown to relate to more evolving phenomena. The case of *Bellona*'s worship around *Turgalium*, or the innovative worship of Jupiter *Repulsor* and *Solutorius* in the countryside of the *conventus Emeritensis* remind us that newly adopted cult could spread throughout the country. These cases also highlight the possibility of 'trends' in this sphere, which in turn speaks to the high degree of interconnectedness within specific rural and rural-to-urban areas.

Finally, it was shown that not only may the distribution of a given deity's cult have been in flux in the Roman period, but also the character of the deity him/herself. This was argued to have been the case with *Endovellicus*. As his cult centre gained a

more diverse and supra-local following, he grew from an eminently local deity to one of more broad-ranging appeal. This may have been facilitated through his varied worshippers' personal readings of his Classical iconography. Again, this adds to our image of a dynamic countryside: deities changed, cults grew and evolved, worshippers dispersed. Clearly, interaction within segments of the countryside, and between specific towns and their hinterland, markedly affected the Lusitanian religious landscape of the Roman period.

## VI. Gifts for the Gods

The aim of this thesis is to move beyond a map of deity names, and to delve deeper into the essence of Lusitanian countryside worship. The gifts that rural people of this province dutifully offered to their gods are a final, and important, clue towards this end. These votive offerings are more than passive artefacts in the archaeological record: they are the material footprint of a symbolic transaction between god and devotee. They can be found throughout the Roman Empire and range widely from ephemeral material such as incense, food, wine or other perishables, to coins, personal articles, miniature or whole pottery vessels, or animals to be sacrificed, statues, lamps, etc. Sometimes these gifts were conspicuous and costly, serving the added purpose of socially promoting the dedicator; certain of the more elaborate marble altars at the sanctuary of Endovellicus are a case in point. Others were simple tokens, like the small, plain, locally made 3<sup>rd</sup> century oil lamps in the three votive deposits of the conventus Pacensis (see below). These were never items of self-promotion; their meaning was a secret known only to the dedicator and his/her god.

Whether elaborate or modest, votive offerings have the possibility of unlocking, for us, many details about the cult in which they were offered and the devotee who offered them. For instance, some are, as was noted, a record of the desire for self-promotion and a mark of the economic status of the dedicators. They tell how pervasively Roman modes of worship and material culture spread into the countryside. In certain cases they inform us about particularities of specific cults or communities of worshippers, and even hint at the ritual practice in which they were once involved. Finally, in rare instances votive offerings also give us a tantalizing glimpse of why they were offered; in other words, what motivated them, or what was at stake for the worshipper. For example, Iron Age II silver and gold plaques representing eyes, from a votive deposit at Garvão, southern Portugal, tell us that the devotees were offering these representations in hope of, or in thanks for, alleviation of some ocular malady (Beirão et al. 1985:84-89, 119-124) (fig.6.1).<sup>330</sup> Figurines of

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<sup>330</sup> Interestingly, Beirão et al. record that Santa Luzia, who is now worshipped in the region of Garvão, is offered silver ocular plaques by her worshippers (and also in Andalucía) (1985:124, cf. Nicolini 1966:143). Eye votives are frequently found in healing sanctuaries throughout the Graeco-Roman world.

livestock found in rural Lusitania suggest that the well-being or fecundity of the herd was the reason for eliciting the deity's aid. Finally, inscribed curses (*defixiones*), like two found in urban Lusitania,<sup>331</sup> record the worshippers' wish that harm should come to a wrong-doer. These gifts, therefore, are laden with meaning and invaluable to our understanding of the religious life of the Lusitanians.

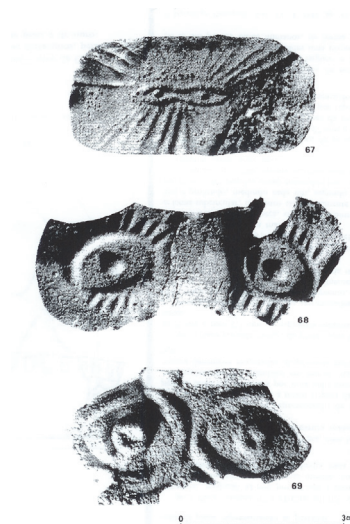


Fig.6.1: Eye plaques from the Iron Age II votive deposit at Garvão, southern Portugal (Beirão et al. 1985:86, fig.31)

However, the votive offerings of rural Lusitania are not prolific. Examples akin to the vast numbers of anatomical votive figurines found in sanctuaries of archaic and Republican Italy, the hundred-plus curse tablets from the sanctuary of Sulis Minerva, Bath<sup>332</sup>, the thousands of coin offerings at Bourbonne-les-Bains, the vast collection of variant offerings at Chastelard de Lardiers etc., are not equalled in Lusitania.<sup>333</sup> The only Lusitanian sites which can compare to these examples, in sheer quantity of votive offerings, are S. Miguel da Mota with its ample repertoire of altar stones and statuary, and Santa Bárbara de Padrões with its secondary votive

<sup>331</sup> One from the sanctuary at Salacia (Alcácer do Sal, Portugal) invokes Attis (see chapter five, footnote 283); another, which is not a tabella as such, but an elegant marble slab, comes from the capital Augusta Emerita, and invokes the double-named Dea Ataecina Proserpina Turibrigensis. The dedicator of this piece begs the goddess for vengeance against a thief (Versnel 1997:91-92; HEpOL 21481; CIL II 462).

<sup>332</sup> Finds at Bath also include thousands of coin offerings and a variety of other votive material (Cunliffe, ed.: 1988).

<sup>333</sup> Nicolás Díaz y Perez, an unreliable source who wrote in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, recorded that a collection of some 600 painted terracotta figurines and anatomical body parts were found in a ditch in association with the Roman rural bath site of Baños de Montemayor, in Lusitania (C.1.3; Díaz y Perez 1880:170). Such thermal waters would have been an apt location for a healing cult, including anatomical votives. Nevertheless, the source must be taken with a considerable grain of salt (see more on problems with this source in Díez de Velasco 1998:37).



deposit of some 15, 000 oil lamps. This latter site, and its sister sites at rural Horta das Faias, Peroguarda, and urban Horta do Pinto, Ossonoba, warrant separate exploration on account of their uniqueness in the context of Lusitanian votive offerings. So too does the general phenomenon of the offering of votive altars, which is this province's best attested and most widespread votive habit: an indelible testament of generations of vows completed. Besides these particularities, this chapter will shed new light on the scant and patchy record of votive offerings from this province. The implications of the votive record as it stands will be discussed, as well as the significance of the scarcity of certain types of Classical votives.

Before embarking on this task it is important to point out that the low quantity of finds of votive objects or materials related to ritual (apart from altar stones), at the cult sites of Lusitania, does not indicate that gifts were infrequently offered to the gods. These gifts might well have been ephemeral in nature, such as flowers, incense and food, as is often attested by literary sources. Altars could have been made of turf, just like the one Horace has his slaves set up for him, and adorn with leaves, incense and a bowl of wine (*Odes* 1.19). None of this would have left a trace. Nor would the ritual which took place at Cape St. Vincent (southwest Portugal), relayed by Strabo (3.1.4), involving rocks and libations of water, be visible in the archaeological record (C.3.1). Indeed, many animal sacrifices could have been carried out with little record left for posterity. Besides this, other votive offerings may have been lost or, if metal, melted down and recast throughout the past two millennia. As is true of all parts of this thesis, we can only proceed with the hope that what has been left to us in the archaeological record is a representative sample of what once existed, and remain open to the possibility that what we are attempting to study may have left no lasting impression.

### **a) Votive deposits and votive offerings**

Over time votive offerings, as well as such objects as sacrificial utensils and cult equipment, functional pottery used in ritual banquets, lamps and other furnishings<sup>334</sup>, could come to clutter a temple or sanctuary. During the Roman period

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<sup>334</sup> For example, Glinister argues that architectural terracottas and roof tiles in deposits associated with sacred sites can be considered as what she terms 'sacred rubbish,' possibly related to the ritual closure of a cult site (2000:54-70).

it was customary to keep such ‘sacra’ within the temenos, or sacred enclosure.<sup>335</sup> Therefore, after votive objects and other paraphernalia of the cult complex had ceased to be utilized or displayed, they could be cleared away from the temple proper and buried within an associated trench (Glinister 2000:54). This is what is generically termed a ‘votive deposit’; also referred to by the Latin *favissa*, or Greek, *bothros*.<sup>336</sup> The votive deposit can be secondary (/closed) when sacra used and exhibited in the cult space are eventually retired to the deposit. Or it can be a ‘primary deposit’ (/open) when the votive objects are ritually deposited by the devotees themselves, directly into the ditch, over time (Bouma 1996:44ff).<sup>337</sup>

The votive offerings, which eventually made their way into these deposits, were diverse in form and purpose: from figurines, anatomical body parts, miniature vessels, to coins, fibulae, etc. Morel divides these into two categories. The first is *ex-voto par destination*: items that were purposefully made to be votive objects. A multitude of terracotta figurines of Minerva found, just south-east of Lusitania, in the votive deposit of Cerro de San Pedro, Valencia del Ventoso (Beturia Celtica), is a good example of this category of purpose made votives. So too is the statuary from the sanctuary of São Miguel da Mota, and, more generally, the ubiquitous altar stones of rural Lusitania, and miniature versions thereof (Matos 1995:nos.61-108). As Morel points out, the ‘*ex-voto par destination*’ suggests artisans were producing wares either for a specific cult place or, more generally, to be used at any cult site (1999:181). The second category is the ‘*ex-voto par transformation*’: this refers to more quotidian objects that had become votive offerings through the action of being dedicated (Morel 1999:181). Fibulae found at Caldas de Monchique, bone needles at Santa Bárbara de Padrões, or even coins found at certain sites, would all fall into this category. Below, all of these examples will be discussed, and I will explore what these gifts to the gods can tell us about the character of religion in the Lusitanian countryside.

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<sup>335</sup> Votive deposits were also found in numerous other pre-Roman contexts as well. For example, see Beirão et al. (1985:106 ff); for some of the prolific ‘Iberian’ examples (from south and eastern Spain) see Mélida (1929:161 ff).

<sup>336</sup> For more on this terminology and its limitations see Bouma (1996:43ff). On the terminology of dedicated objects see Osborne (2004:5).

<sup>337</sup> Bouma offers a more lengthy discussion on this distinction (1996:44-47). What is important to note, to my mind, is that the material in the secondary deposit is previously utilized in the cult context. This does not exclude the possibility that its subsequent deposition in a votive deposit was considered a ritual act.

### **a.1) Oil lamps in votive deposits**

Three votive deposits consisting primarily of oil lamps, found in southern Lusitania, form one of the best collections of evidence on the topic of votive offerings and ritual paraphernalia from this province. They were found at Horta das Faias, Santa Bárbara de Padrões (pos. Arannis), and Horta do Pinto (Ossonoba) (see fig.4.12 above; C.1.16, 1.24).<sup>338</sup> In chapter two, I noted their similar chronologies, and in chapter four, their possible inter-connection by way of a roadway. In this chapter I will explore them in greater depth to try to deduce what they tell us about the local ritual at each site, as well as the peculiarities of worship in southern Lusitania. Of the three deposits, that at Santa Bárbara de Padrões is the largest and most thoroughly excavated and published.<sup>339</sup> For this reason I will describe it first, and then explore how it relates to the other two. Then, I will turn to the broader topic of the ‘oil lamp’ as a votive offering and look for parallels, nearby on the Iberian Peninsula as well as throughout the Empire.

The deposit at Santa Bárbara de Padrões consists of a rectilinear ditch, 15 x 2m, filled with a series of oil lamps dating from the mid 1<sup>st</sup> to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD (fig.6.2) (Maia and Maia 1997).<sup>340</sup> The chronological sequence of the deposit is not particularly clear, but appears to have had two distinguishable phases: the mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. to the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century which is marked by continuous and uninterrupted deposits of oil lamps; and, the 3<sup>rd</sup> century which followed over a light covering<sup>341</sup> of the earlier deposit material, and included a widening of the trench southwards (Maia and Maia 1997:16-19). Whereas a wide variety of regionally-made and imported lamps, of varied imagery, marked the first phase, the second was constituted by much more modest, small, locally made, orange-ish lamps without slip (of type Dr. 20/ Loes

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<sup>338</sup> Horta do Pinto does not have an entry in this thesis’ catalogue, as it definitely pertains to an urban context (Ossonoba).

<sup>339</sup> The votive deposit is being excavated by Maria Garcia Pereira Maia and Manuel Maia. A primary monograph on the deposit and the typology and iconography of the more complete lamps was published in 1997 (see bibliography). A museum, denominated the Museu de Lucerna, opened in Castro Verde, in 2004, to display this oil lamp collection.

<sup>340</sup> Various types of lamps are recorded within this ditch. The typology of the lamps and the stamp markings on them show that they were both manufactured locally and regionally, at Emerita, and other peninsular contexts, and imported (esp. Italy, North Africa) or from Hispanic enclaves of foreign workshops (Maia and Maia 1997:18-21, 26-28, 162ff; for classification typologies used see p.31 w/ cross refs.; for a catalogue of the types found at Sta. Bárbara see p.32 ff). The varied origins of the lamps prove that this was not a production site itself.

<sup>341</sup> Maia and Maia describe this as made up of some black earth mixed with charcoal and ashes (1997:18).

VIII). The deposit's excavators, Maia and Maia, also mention a few glass fragments from unguentaria and a few coins of the Antonine era from the first phase, and some bone needles, glass fragments and sigillata Africana Clara fragments in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century layer, all of which helped to date the deposit (along with the oil lamp typologies) (Ibid:16,18,19). It appears that the deposit was eventually covered by a loose collection of stones, amphorae, dolia, tegulae and lateres fragments, and nodules of lime (Layer 3a) (Ibid:16,19).



Fig.6.2: Plan of the oil lamp deposit at Santa Bárbara de Padrões (Castro Verde, Portugal) (Maia and Maia 1997:17, Plan A2 -5<sup>a</sup>)

In reading Maia and Maia's (1997) report of this deposit a few points emerge as especially noteworthy. In respect to what I have termed the first phase, they note that many of the lamps were arranged in obvious circular or oval patterns consisting of up to, and over, 200 abutting lamps.<sup>342</sup> They argue that these lamps were arranged

<sup>342</sup> "The lamps were placed in a form to save space, disk to disk and with each handle (when they existed...) following the curvature of their pair. These pairs formed circles with diameters of 80 to

around baskets of esparto grass, or some other perishable material, within the deposit (1997:21). As they note, this contrasts with Viana's assessment that all the lamps were laid down individually by devotees (*ibid*; Viana 1956:127). Viana's explanation, though, does little to account for the arrangement, and as no soil analyses have been carried out at the site, it is also difficult to either accept or reject Maia and Maia's theory. What is most important to note is that whether arranged around some ephemeral material or simply on their own, many of these lamps were deposited in a fairly organized fashion. Even the poorer quality 3<sup>rd</sup> century lamps, of what I term the second phase, were often set up so that they were protected by semi-circles of rocks and brick fragments. This suggests an ordered deposition process which in turn indicates that someone, perhaps a cult official, oversaw the deposition and that the lamps were not deposited there in a piecemeal fashion by the devotees themselves over various generations (as Viana suggested). Rather, it would seem more probable that various clearings of a temple, or temenos space of some sort took place over the centuries, and that these saw the controlled deposition of these oil lamps. This does not, of course, deny that these lamps were offerings made by the dedicators; it only suggests that they were not offered straight into this deposit, making this what archaeologists would term a 'secondary deposit'. Finally, as Maia and Maia note, at the rural deposit of Peroguarda, the oil lamps are also recorded as deposited in circular patterns (*bolsadas*) (1997:21). Could this simply be coincidence?

It is tempting to answer no, especially when one takes into account other similarities between these two sites, as well as a third oil lamp deposit at Ossoinoba (Horta das Pinto). At all three, oil lamps are by far the dominant type of artefact making up the deposits (fig.6.3a). Besides this similarity, the three deposits have matching periods of use (mid 1<sup>st</sup> – late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD)<sup>343</sup>; are all situated in southern

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100cm, approx., and contained a variable number of lamps, but many times there were over 200" (Maia and Maia 1997:18, my translation). Original quote: "As lucernas foram colocadas de forma a poupar espaço, disco contra disco e com cada asa (quando existiam...) a acompanhar a curvatura do reservatório do par. Estes pares formavam círculos com diâmetros de 80 a 100 cm, aproximadamente e continham um número variável de lucernas, mas que muitas vezes ia além das 200" (Maia and Maia 1997:18).

<sup>343</sup> Horta do Pinto, see Franco 1970:161-195. Peroguarda: Viana recorded that the majority of the lamps were to be dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD with a few possibly extending beyond these dates (Viana 1956:137). By comparing these oil lamps with others recovered within the Alentejo, Alarcão

Lusitania in the conventus Pacensis; include similar types of oil lamps which no doubt pertain to the same trade circuits<sup>344</sup>; and have comparable stratigraphy (at least, Peroguarda and Santa Bárbara, where this is recorded).<sup>345</sup> At all three sites ash and oily soil were prevalent throughout the deposits. None of the sites has as of yet turned up definitive evidence of an adjoining shrine or temple.<sup>346</sup> The similarities in the nature of these three deposits, therefore, suggest they included comparable ritual practices, and may have been frequented by some of the same network of devotees. This fits well with their locations next to one interconnected road network, noted in chapter four.



Fig.6.3a: Oil lamps from Horta das Faias, Peroguarda displayed in the Museu Regional de Beja (Photo E.A. Richert)

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and Ponte further hewn the chronological parameters for the lamps to the mid 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD (1976:78, footnote 18).

<sup>344</sup> See chapter four, section d for their possible connection to the same road network running between Ossonoba and Salacia, via Pax Iulia.

<sup>345</sup> For the similarities between the stratigraphic profiles of Peroguarda and Santa Bárbara, see: Maia and Maia (1997:21) and Viana (1956:125-126).

<sup>346</sup> Admittedly, this might be attributable to a lack of associated excavation. At Peroguarda, Viana posits that the numerous holes dug in order to plant trees – one of which resulted in the discovery of the deposit – would surely have turned up some evidence of a cult edifice if one had existed (1956:126). The deposit at Ossonoba is described as isolated, although it is “two or three dozen meters” from the Roman cemetery of Barrio Letes (which hints that it may have been associated with funerary cult). At Santa Bárbara, Maia and Maia note riveted pools/tanks on the hill’s peak which they suggest may coincide with the votive deposit and possibly relate in some way to water cult (Maia and Maia 1997:22).

### **a.1.1) Analysis and comparative material from the region**

So why did three, corresponding oil lamp deposits arise in the 1<sup>st</sup> century in southern Portugal? And, what can they tell us about the religion of the conventus Pacensis? To begin to answer the first of these questions, it is important to note, as I did in chapter two, that the practice of depositing votives had existed in the region of southern Portugal in the second Iron Age. One of the best known deposits of this period is that of Garvão, Portugal. There, amid a wide array of votive material, including such items as metal plaques representing eyes, terracotta figurines, and ceramic vessels, a number of miniature bowls were found which Beirão et al. assume to have been ‘lamparinas’ or ‘little lamps’ with parallels in the Italo-Punic sanctuaries such as Gaggera (1985:105). The assemblage at this site, like the material from a nearby, possible cult site of Vaiamonte, or the communal banqueting altar of Castrejón de Capote (in Beturia Celtica), also included significant quantities of pottery vessels which testify to ritual feasting and drinking (probably a local beer) (Berrocal 2004b:117). In this manner these sites differ significantly from the oil lamp deposits in question.

During the Roman Imperial period other collections of votive offerings have been found in southern Lusitania. A significant cluster of votive material was found at the baths at Caldas de Monchique (Faro), and both Roman and Iron Age votive offerings were found in a sanctuary in the port city of Salacia (Alcácer do Sal) (see more on both below). In the region adjoining southern Lusitania, Beturia Celtica, at the aforementioned oppidum of Capote<sup>347</sup> (which was abandoned and then only marginally resettled), a large collection of ceramics and clay figurines were found in a votive deposit by the entrance to the hill-top settlement. These date from the start of the Imperial period, and include regionally produced as well as imported wares. Across the southern border of the conventus Emeritensis, the Cerro de San Pedro, Valencia del Ventoso (Beturia Celtica), was home to an early Imperial period votive deposit that included a collection of drinking vessels comparable to that at Capote, suggestive of wine consumption, as well as serving dishes, terracotta figurines, and

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<sup>347</sup> This deposit is 2 x 1.6 m, and its contents are dated, especially thanks to half a dozen ases and a collection of fibulae, up until 45 AD, with the concentration of materials between 29 BC and 27 AD (Berrocal 2004b:113; see also Alfayé 2009:234 w/ further bibliography in footnote 39, p.234). A collection of 32 oil lamps, generally ornate and with volutes, were part of this deposit (Berrocal 2004b:113).

oil lamps (Berrocal et al. 2009; Gómez-Pantoja and Prada 2000). It is interesting to note that these lamps bear distinct similarities to those found in the Portuguese deposits. This fact, coupled with the geographic positioning of these sites, indicates that each were recipients of various interrelated trade networks.<sup>348</sup>

Therefore, votive deposits were not a new phenomenon in the region of the conventus Pacensis, but had existed here in the Iron Age. Though there is little evidence from the Republican period, by at least the early Imperial period other collections of votive material were again established in this territory and adjacent lands (see chapter two). However, the three Portuguese oil lamp deposits are atypical in their general preponderance of one single type of votive: the oil lamp. Though various pottery shards were recorded, especially in the covering and base layers of the deposit at Santa Bárbara, this is nothing comparable to the quantities of whole vessels in the deposits of Beturia Celtica. Bone needles and a few unguentaria shards, noted in the deposit at Santa Bárbara, appear to have been the only other clear ‘votive offerings’ at any of the three sites, besides oil lamps. We might therefore term the oil lamp deposits ‘special purpose deposits’ (Osborne 2004:4). Before turning to the possible interpretation of such deposits, I will first briefly explore how they compare to material from elsewhere in the Empire.

### **a.1.2) Empire-wide evidence**

The association of oil lamps with cult sites is in no way exceptional in the context of the Graeco-Roman world.<sup>349</sup> Lamps were commonly found in temples and sanctuaries. They were also left at sacred, open air sites and especially wells; a phenomenon attested by authors of late antiquity (Sauer 2011:507, 539). In the 5<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>348</sup> Berrocal has argued that a praefectura of the Lusitanian capital Augusta Emerita, extended southwards into the region of northern Baetica, enveloping the area including the deposit at San Pedro (Berrocal 2004a:167-174). This is argued by a terminus found at Alto de Solarparza, Valencia del Ventoso (ERBC 153 = AE 1993, 917b). Yet another inscription from El Santo, Montemolín further adds to our understanding of this praefectura, and its area, as does the designation of members of the Papiria tribe, in Santos de Maimona (see Berrocal 2004a:169-70 and footnotes 65 and 66). The connection between the Lusitanian capital, and the votive deposit from San Pedro, is also reiterated by the materials found there. Much of the pottery and many of the lamps can be traced back to workshops in Emerita (Berrocal 2004a:172). This attests strong trade links between Emerita and this area, often stressed by Berrocal and colleagues (Ibid).

<sup>349</sup> Some of the problems grappled with here are also brought up by Hübinger in respect to the archaic oil lamps of Olympia. He offers certain, primarily Hellenic, parallels (2005:102-106)



century, Sozomen recorded that at Mambre, Palestine, in the place where God appeared to Abraham, there was a well where many gathered annually, and he writes:

No one during the time of the feast drew water from that well; for according to Pagan usage, some placed burning lamps near it; some poured out wine, or cast in cakes; and others, coins, myrrh or incense (Sozomen, *Historia ecclesiastica* 2.4, Trans. C.D. Hartranft).<sup>350</sup>

Similarly, the bishop Martin of Braga, from Gallaecia, just north of Lusitania, who wrote in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, also attests the relationship between springs and oil lamps, by condemning the lighting of such lamps next to springs:

To light candles beside rocks and beside trees and beside fountains and at crossroads, what else is this but worship of the devil? (Martin of Braga, *De correctione rusticorum* 16, Trans. Barlow).

And, Macrobius recounts how Hercules persuaded the Pelasgians to honour Saturn's altars with lighted lamps rather than human sacrifices (*Saturnalia* 1.7.31). It is clear from these sources that the offering of oil lamps was a pagan practice, and that it continued into late antiquity. In fact, Caseau notes that oil lamps even gained prominence as a pagan votive once Christianity had become the official religion, and were in various cases related to crypto-paganism which took place in hidden caves, and often would have involved nocturnal activities (see more on the 'nocturnal' element below) (2004:135).<sup>351</sup>

Especially vast quantities of oil lamps are also reported at certain Roman Imperial temples and shrines. For example, a sanctuary complex at Caesarea Philippi (Baniyas, Golan Heights) included a number of oil lamps within its early, middle and late Roman assemblages, which Berlin takes to have been personal, dedicatory offerings (1999:27-49). These became most prolific in the late Roman period (3<sup>rd</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> c. AD), numbering nearly 3000 (*ibid*: 36). These late lamps are similar to the third century lamps at the Portuguese sites in that they are simple in design and primarily of local manufacture, although they differ in that they are open-form, miniature saucer lamps (*ibid*: 37, 40, fig.10).

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<sup>350</sup> It is worth noting, as Sauer has pointed out, that this account is further confirmed by a "concentration of clay oil lamps around the spring at Mambre", as well as the head of a statue of Dionysos and application-decoration pottery bowls "from the fill of the catchment installation of the spring" (Sauer 2011:539). For more on this, also see Belayche (2001:97) who likens the dedications in the well-fountain here to *lavatio* rituals.

<sup>351</sup> It was not only in contexts of crypto-paganism that such quantities of lamps were found in the late Roman period, though. Jordan concluded that the inscriptions on the lamps from the so-called 'Fountain of Lamps' (a subterranean bath complex at Corinth, with a narrow back room filled with late 5<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup> century lamp offerings), related to Christian worship (1994:223-229).

An immense quantity of first century oil lamps were also found at the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia, and fifth and sixth century lamps at the water sanctuary, or so-called 'Fountain of Lamps', at Corinth (Berlin 1999:36, cf. Broneer 1977:2-3, 92; Jordan 1994:223-229). In the former case, the lamps are considered to relate to some type of nightly mysteries. Nightly activity might also be implied in regards to a Gallic votive deposit at La Luminaire (Lachau) (also noted by Maia and Maia 1997:20). This votive assemblage – besides containing some 10,000 whole and fragmentary oil lamps – included three mirror-frames, two of which had extant dedicatory inscriptions to Selene, the moon goddess (Barrauol and Boudon 1991:248). The same deity – an appropriate recipient of nightly rituals – was also depicted on twenty lamps found at Santa Bárbara (though not those at the other two Portuguese sites) (Maia and Maia 1997:65-68). Finally, it is also worth noting the Gallic sanctuary site of Le Chastelard (Lardiers, Les Alpes-de-Haute-Provence); a vast collection of assorted votive offerings was uncovered here, including what Bérard estimates as a total of c. 50,000 oil lamps (Bérard 1997:244-252). These, like those at the other Gallic site, Luminaire, and the Portuguese oil lamp deposits, date primarily from the 1<sup>st</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD (though this site had residual occupation into the 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD) (Bérard 1997:251).<sup>352</sup>

It is conceivable that oil lamps in votive deposits were never offerings themselves, but sacred paraphernalia of the temple complex, cleared away. When presented with the tens of thousands of oil lamps witnessed at cult sites such as Santa Bárbara de Padrões, Luminaire, Le Chastelard, Isthmia, Corinth, or Baniyas, or, possibly, even the hundreds of lamps at Peroguarda and Horta do Pinto, this option seems significantly less probable. These numbers appear too great to suggest that the lamps were simply those used to light a cult edifice. Lamps used as lighting devices could have been reused numerous times, and would therefore have only appeared in relatively small quantities in any deposit of cult paraphernalia. It is more likely to be the case that some, if not all, were brought to these sites purposefully as offerings to the gods. After all, the ritual lighting and offering of lamps was not exceptional in pagan practice. Belayche notes:

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<sup>352</sup> Maia and Maia (1997) also make brief mention of this site. The debt which I owe to their work should be obvious.

The use of lamps in the guise of symbolic offerings or as lighting, was such a universal practice in pagan ritual that the law of the 8<sup>th</sup> November 392 banning it targets expressis verbis “venerating one’s lar with a fire” and “lighting lights before the gods” (Belayche 2001:99, cf. CTh, 16.10.12).<sup>353</sup>

The fact that the lamps at the three Portuguese deposits showed signs of having been utilized might indicate that they were lit as part of a ritual. Of course, we cannot discard the possibility that they were utilized in a quotidian context, after which they were then reutilized as votive offerings (i.e. ex-votos par transformation). Santa Bárbara de Padrões is located in the heart of a mining district, and the other two Portuguese oil lamp deposits are linked to this region by a road network (see chapter four); mining activities provide a plausible explanation for the abundant need for oil lamps in the region, and a potential primary context in which they could have been used.

Nevertheless, whether only ever lit in the cult context or previously used elsewhere, we can assume the oil lamps were, eventually, offerings to the gods and quite possibly part of a ritual; perhaps one which took place at night. Nocturnal sacrifices and ceremonies that could include feasting were an important component of a number of pagan cults throughout antiquity. For example, many a deity in the archaic and Classical Greek context was honoured with such rites, (pannukhides), amply lit with oil lamps (Parisinou 2000:145-147,155,158). In Lusitania we have little evidence of such a practice during the Roman period. Nevertheless, Strabo asserts that the Celtiberians (from the Meseta, adjacent to Lusitania), and their northern neighbours, made their sacrifices to an un-named god at full moon by night, outside their houses, dancing (3.4.16).<sup>354</sup> Pliny (*Naturalis historia* 3.13) affirms that the Celtici, who belonged to south-western Iberia, derived from Celtiberia.<sup>355</sup>

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<sup>353</sup> She also notes the important symbolic role of light and lamp lighting “in the Greek and eastern mysterious rituals” and in Jewish cult (2001:97-9).

<sup>354</sup> For the importance of a deity with lunar or nocturnal associations amongst the Celtiberians and the possible interpretation of this deity, see Sopeña 2005:349 and Marco 2005:291.

<sup>355</sup> “Celticos a Celtiberis ex Lusitania advenisse manifestum est sacris, lingua, oppidorum vocabulis quae cognominibus in Baetica distinguntur” (Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 3.13). This lineage is confirmed by Berrocal, who, in a study of archaeological as well as literary sources concerning the south-western Iberians, notes: “Thus, the Celts of the southwestern Iberian Peninsula were on the one hand the result of a cumulative process of social and cultural transformations of indigenous populations that had extensive foreign relations during the last millennium BC and, on the other hand, the product of demographic shifts involving the movement of peoples from the Douro River Basin that originated in Vaccei and Celtiberian contexts, on a massive scale in the fifth century BC and more selective later on, during the second century BC (2005:493).

Therefore, there is a clear cultural link between the people who, as Strabo attested, were known to worship at night, and the inhabitants of south-western Iberia (the region of the oil lamp deposits). Moreover, in describing the rituals that Artemidorus witnessed on the furthest south-westerly corner of the Peninsula, at Cabo S. Vicente, Strabo (3.1.4) notes that it was believed that the gods inhabited the cult site at night, and so it was inviolable at that time. Marco, who emphasizes the symbolic importance of night amongst the Celtic peoples, adds:

The importance of the nocturnal universe in Celtic rituals and the way they counted time may explain the remarkable piece of information provided by Eudoxus of Rhodes, a 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE historian, commented on in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE by Apollonius (Hist. mir. 24), that one of the tribes of the Keltiké could not see by day, but they could at night (FGrHist 79 F 2) (2007:174-175).<sup>356</sup>

Finally, just north of the region of the Celtici, the sun and moon were worshipped, well into the Roman Imperial period, at a sanctuary at Alto da Vigia, close to Olisipo (Lisbon) (see C.1.2). These instances hint at a belief system, in the southern half of Lusitania, in which nocturnal rites would be especially relevant.

Also of potential ritual importance at these sites was water.<sup>357</sup> Each of these deposits was located in proximity to one or another water source: Peroguarda, a river; Santa Bárbara, tanks of water on the hill-top and a spring at its base; and Horta do Pinto, the south coast of Portugal. Oil lamps were commonly associated with springs and watery places, as I have noted, and as is evidenced, for example, by the ‘fountain of lamps’ at Corinth, or the lamps around the spring at Mambre<sup>358</sup> (noted above). We, consequently, cannot dismiss the possible symbolic role of the water, to the associated cultic rituals at each of the oil lamp deposits (a point also noted by Maia and Maia 1997).

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<sup>356</sup> Also relevant to this point is Marco’s full discussion on the sacred importance of night amongst the Celts (including the Celtici of south-western Iberia) (2007:172 ff).

<sup>357</sup> Marco notes: “Night time is also when the last aspect I would like to mention took place: access (Durchgang) to the Beyond, which occurred especially across water” (2007:175). This point identifies a symbolic link between water and night, amongst the Celts, that may possibly have retained its significance during the Roman period, in southern Portugal.

<sup>358</sup> See footnote 350.



Fig.6.3b: An oil lamp depicting Helios from Santa Bárbara de Padrões (Maia and Maia 1997:53, lucerna [lamp] 42; Museu da Lucerna, Castro Verde)

In conclusion, I would like to briefly recapitulate what we know, and what I have hypothesized, about the character of these oil lamp deposits. During the 1<sup>st</sup> century, three oil lamp deposits emerged in southern Lusitania: a region already familiar with the practice of depositing sacra in favissae, and with nocturnal rites. The oil lamps may relate to a specific ritual which is likely to have taken place at night, or at dawn or dusk, and may have related to the worship of the sun and moon (fig.6.3b).<sup>359</sup> There is no indication that ritual banqueting, evidenced in various Iron Age contexts of this region, had any part in the ritual practice here, though sacrifice is suggested by a few animal bones as well as ash and oily soil. After whatever ritual took place, the oil lamps may well have stayed within the temenos or cult edifice space for some period before being deposited into the ditches in fixed arrangements. The similarities between the three deposits and the oil lamps therein reflect the interconnectedness of the region of the conventus Pacensis. As was noted in chapter four, it is possible that all three were situated along the same road and trade network. The fact that no such deposits, composed of oil lamps or other votive material or cultic paraphernalia, have been found north of the Tagus (see below), is indication of the cultural rift that existed between northern and southern Lusitania. As we have seen, parallels for these deposits are to be found in neighbouring Beturia Celtica

<sup>359</sup> The frequency of depictions of the moon, Selene, on the Sta. Bárbara lamps was already noted. It is also notable that Helios was the most depicted deity at this site (58 lamps) and was also depicted on lamps from the other two Portuguese oil lamp deposits (Maia and Maia 1997:51-55; Viana 1956:nos.37, 58, 85).

instead; this reiterates the fact that cultural ties in this region did not conform to the Roman provincial borders.

### **a.2) Other types of votive offerings and deposits from Lusitania**

Besides the three oil lamp favissae, I am aware of no other specific votive ‘deposits’ from rural Lusitania which date to the Roman Imperial period. A few other small collections of votives have been found, though. One of these pertains to the rural bath complex at Caldas de Monchique, conventus Pacensis. Here, votive objects were discovered in two small rooms, around the catchment area for the hot-spring, in the western sector of the bath remains (Santos 1972:46-47 cf. the plan of Ferreira 1963:13, no.1; Díez de Velasco 1987:196; Frade 1993:890, no.40) (fig.6.4). It is impossible to know whether this was the original placement of these objects, or whether they had been cleared and collected here at some undetermined point in time. What is notable is that this does not appear to be a haphazard amalgam of sacred and profane material; almost all these finds are typical for votive offerings. They include: a small votive altar to *Aquae Sacrae*, a fragment of a clay patera, the rim and top 1/3 of a small amphora, numerous oil lamp sherds, 115 silver pins, a bronze figurine of *Fortuna* (or a dedicator), the arm of a bronze figurine, two bronze cornucopiae, a bronze ring, a gold palmetto, an iron forfex and unidentified object, and a lead pipe (see C.1.6). These objects were probably either originally deposited straight into the spring source (e.g. the silver pins) or displayed next to the thermal waters (e.g. the altar).

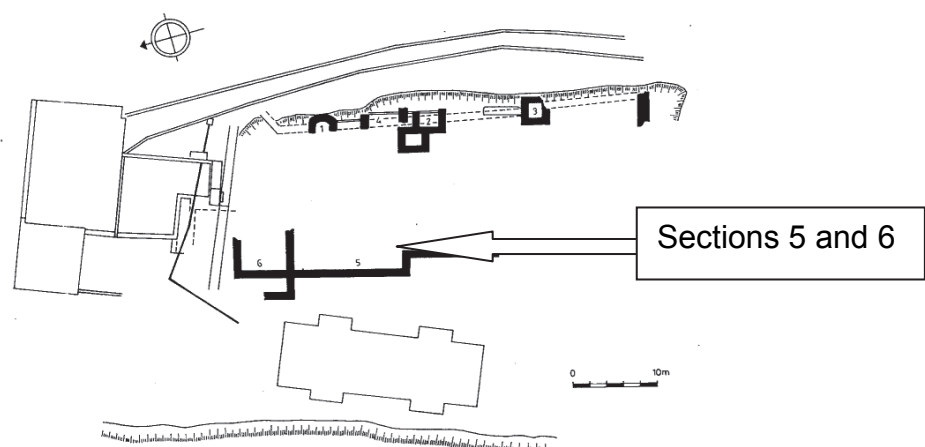


Fig.6.4: Plan of the Roman ruins at Caldas de Monchique. Arrow showing sections 5 and 6, my addition (Frade 1993: fig.6, redesign from Ferreira 1963).

From the urban context, the sanctuary at Salacia<sup>360</sup> included, among its remains, what was apparently a purpose made structure for the storing of votive objects. Encarnação and Faria record:

At the entrance of the cella, on the right side, there is a space constituted of non-plastered lateres, forming compartments of reduced dimensions (0.60 x 0.20 m), which very likely were destined to receive votive offerings, due to the fact that plates and bowls of common-ware ceramics deposited on top of one another, a considerable collection of lamps of various types, a common-ware ceramic cup with base and three terracotta figurines, two of which have Phrygian caps, were recovered from there. During the sifting, some coins were found, which are currently undergoing lab treatment (2002:259, my translation).<sup>361</sup>

This material belongs to the Roman Imperial period. As was mentioned in chapter two, record also exists of a further collection of twenty-two bronze figurines of worshippers, warriors, horses, goats and bulls, adjacent to the sanctuary, dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> -3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (ibid: 259). This speaks to the sacred nature of this spot, and the local importance of the practice of offering votives (and later depositing this material on the premises).

Therefore, we have seen different secondary contexts that votive offerings and ritualized material eventually ended up in: the excavated deposit or ditch of the oil lamps, or the series of small compartments in the Salacia sanctuary. The collection of offerings found in the Caldas de Monchique baths undoubtedly also originally pertained to either their specific find-spot, or its immediate vicinity. However, these instances are the exception. Most votive offerings in rural Lusitania were not found in the precise location where the dedicator had intended them to sit, such as a primary votive deposit, spring or river (as was discussed in chapter three). For example, a handle of a bronze ritual vessel bearing a figurine of a centaur was

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<sup>360</sup> This sanctuary was found in Salacia (Alcácer do Sal, Portugal), 50 m northwest of the forum. It had two rectangular-plan cellae, in one of which remains of a quadrangular tank made of plastered bricks were found (1.5m sides, 0.75m depth). Though this tank was found with later material within it, Encarnação and Faria believe that the tank itself would, during the Roman period, have been “most likely destined for sacrifices” (2002:259, my translation). At the base of this tank a tabella defixionis was recovered along with an unidentifiable copper coin.

<sup>361</sup> “À entrada da cella, do lado direito, existe um espaço constituído por lateres não argamassados, formando compartimentos de dimensões reduzidas (0,60 x 0,20 m), muito provavelmente destinado a receber ofertas votivas, porquanto daí se exumaram pratos e tigelas de cerâmica comum dispostos por cima uns dos outros, um conjunto considerável de lucernas de vários tipos, uma taça de cerâmica comum com pé e três figurinhas em terracotta, duas delas apresentando barretes frígios. Durante as crivagens, recolheram-se alguns numismas, neste momento em fas de tratamento laboratorial” (Encarnação and Faria 2002:259).

found in Canas de Senhorim (Araujo et al. 2003:523-526).<sup>362</sup> This is also the town in which three altars were found that were erected by the same dedicator, and in all probability related to a single, private cult site (C.2.2). The two – cult place and vessel – may belong together, though there is no way to tell definitively from the information available. Other objects, such as bronze figurines of deities or ritual implements can be found in the museums of the region of Lusitania, often with unknown provenance (Pinto 2002; Bronces 1990). These may have come from cult sites originally, or, as Pinto asserts, from private *lararia* (on account of their infrequency and diminutive size) (2002:39). These objects expand the picture of Lusitanian votive religion, but also reiterate its distinctly personal and small-scale character. In all, there is no collection of votive objects to equal the oil lamp deposits, which were clearly exceptional in the Lusitanian context. It is telling that these and the other few collections of votive offerings noted above all pertain to the southern half of Lusitania. This region had been conquered earlier, was more cosmopolitan than its northern counterpart, and had experienced more profound Mediterranean/North African cultural influences prior to the Roman period. These cultural influences had already incited the deposition of votives in *favissae* prior to the Roman period. The north did not exhibit a similar pre-Roman practice nor did it appear to adopt on any large scale the offering of votives apart from altars (which form a significant exception), animal sacrifices, and probably ephemeral goods.

#### **b) Coins as offerings?**

A common practice in the Roman Empire was the offering of coins to the gods; coins, unlike many more elaborate offerings, would have been available to worshippers of varying economic status. Apart from villa owners, the rural inhabitants of Lusitania cannot be assumed to have been especially affluent, so this would seem an attainable manner for them to participate in Roman-style votive activity. Moreover, one important locus for the offering of coins was the hot or cold spring, a feature which was very prominent in Lusitanian countryside cult (see chapter three). Therefore it is surprising to find that, although hoards of coins, or

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<sup>362</sup> This piece is in the Sala Museo de Arqueologia José Adelino (Canas de Senhorim, Nelas, Portugal).



tesoros (treasures), are evidenced throughout the region of Lusitania (often relating to times of instability),<sup>363</sup> coin offerings are markedly rare. When they are detected at Lusitanian cult sites, they are generally found in small quantities, and are either loosely dispersed, suggesting accidental loss, or without clearly identified find-spots. A few noteworthy collections come from rural bath complexes and springs, but hardly in sufficient quantities to suggest that the offering of coins ever became a common practice in the province.

### **b.1) Coins in springs (/baths)**

Numerous cold and hot-springs (frequently bath sites) have been found, in the context of much of the Roman Empire, including large quantities of coins that are thought to have been offerings to the gods (Sauer 2005:110 ff, fig.35 and 2011:509-513).<sup>364</sup> Likewise, Abad considers a series of small collections of coins recovered in various springs of Hispania to be offerings (1992).<sup>365</sup> Yet, these rarely exceed twenty-five or so in number, and their exact find-spots are often unknown. This makes it difficult to confirm their status as offerings or to dismiss the possibility of accidental loss. Abad attributes the low quantity of coins found in Hispanic springs to the fact that coin offerings are not easily retained in the archaeological record, and may well have been opportunistically recovered soon after they had been left (1992:137). Still, large numbers of coins have remained in various hot-springs of the Roman Empire, which are far clearer in their analysis. Only in a few cases from rural Lusitania, can it be proven that coins left in springs were there intentionally, for the gods.

At Monte Real (Leiria), in the conventus Scallabitanus, a votive altar to either F(ons), F(ontanus/a) or F(ortuna), was found (C.1.12) (CIL II 337; ILER 454).

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<sup>363</sup> See, for example, the numerous 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD Hispanic hoards, many from Lusitania, in Martínez (1995-7; 2000-1; 2004-5; 2007). Various coin hoards appear in Alarcão's catalogues of Roman Portugal I-IV (1988b).

<sup>364</sup> Sauer's examples derive from Gallia Belgica, Germania Superior, and Germania Inferior. He notes that the most intensive period of these offerings was the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD (2005:110, with various cross references).

<sup>365</sup> He also includes, in his catalogue, a few instances of coin finds in lakes and rivers (three from Lusitania). However, these tend to be single coins and he himself admits that it is problematic to determine whether they were offerings (1992:176). The majority of the springs with coins (78.26%) which he records from Hispania were hypothermal springs (ibid).

Concerning the find-spot of this altar, recovered in excavations in 1807, Tavares notes:

It was together with a large stone (penedo), which had one of its sides covering the aforementioned coins of copper and tin from the time of the Romans, deposited, as it seems then, in a cavity in another marble stone at the same place as the spring of mineral waters (1810:142).<sup>366</sup>

This description of the coins, deposited together in a cavity in a marble stone with another stone covering it, sounds particularly like an offertory box, as was Heleno's assessment (1922:13).<sup>367</sup> A similar stone offertory box was found outside a small Gallo-Roman temple at Crain, Gaul, for example (Sauer 2003:154-156; Meisssonier 1973; Devauges 1973). The language in Tavares' notes is somewhat ambiguous about the precise find-spot of this Lusitanian putative offering box; it seems best to assume that the marble stone with the coins in it at the same place as the spring of mineral waters was not within the waters but immediately next to them. However, it seems odd that an open air cult site would include an offertory box, and therefore we are left to wonder whether a cult edifice once existed here, just as in the case of Crain. Even then, an offertory box did not necessarily contain 'votive' coins as much as donations to the upkeep of a particular cult space.

A small collection of gold and copper coins found at the Balneario de Retortillo (Salamanca), in the conventus Emeritensis, appear to relate neither to ongoing votive deposition nor to casual loss, but probably constitutes a foundation deposit made around the time of the erection of the bathing complex.<sup>368</sup> Fita records that a flagstone pavement was discovered here while labourers were isolating the precise spring source. Below these slabs they found six gold and some copper coins (1913:543-545; Abad 1992:158-9; C.1.23).<sup>369</sup> This gives the distinct impression of a

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<sup>366</sup> "Estava junto a hum penedo, cobrindo com hum dos lados as ditas medalhas de cobre e de latão do tempo dos Romanos, depositadas, segundo pareceu então, na cavidade de outra pedra de marmore no mesmo sitio da nascente das agues minerães" (Tavares 1810:142).

<sup>367</sup> Heleno sees this as a recipient for the coin offerings of devotees. He compares it to other monetary offering boxes noted in Gaul by Bonnard (Heleno 1922:13; Bonnard 1908:221,222,257). He also notes that the coins have mostly been dispersed/lost, but he does record four which date from the mid 2<sup>nd</sup> to mid 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD (Heleno 1922:13-15).

<sup>368</sup> Gómez Moreno notes various finds here including a well, bricks, sherds of fine-ware ceramics, and a bronze fibula (1967:59). These remains are generally taken to refer to some type of bath structure of the Roman period (Malquer 1956:94; Blázquez and García-Gelabert 1992:54).

<sup>369</sup> Fita (1913:543), from his letter from D. Román Marcos y Sánchez: "En el término de Retortillo, hace cinco ó seis años, se descubrió en el cauce del río Yeltes un manantial de aguas termales que pasan de 40 grados. Se aisló el manatíal, y sacaron las aguas á la ribera; y han construído un establecimiento de baños, que están dando excelentes resultados y son ya muy concurridos. En el

foundation deposit. Besides this, it is also notable that twenty other bronze coins were among the finds collected elsewhere at the site, during construction here, as was a votive stele to Aquis Eletesibus (the waters of the River Yeltes) (Abad 1992:159; cf. Gómez Moreno 1967:59). Unfortunately, we do not know the exact context of these additional coins. Although the votive stele confirms that the waters here were worshipped (or a deity considered to reside therein), we cannot say for certain that these twenty coins were also offerings.

There is, therefore, evidence of two instances in which coins found in springs can be confirmed to be in their intended locations: within an offertory box; and as a foundation deposit. Neither of these confirms the ongoing practice of offering coins as votives into springs. However, decontextualized coins have been found at some bath sites where other obvious votive offerings were also recovered. This hints that the coins may too have been offerings, although this cannot be established for certain. For example, coins were found at the Baños de Montemayor (Cáceres, conventus Emeritensis), where numerous small votive altars have also been recovered (C.1.3; Abad 1992:no.22, 160-167 and 1994:617-652). Similarly, at Caldas de Monchique, the same bath site where the aforementioned collection of votive offerings was uncovered, twenty coins were found (C.1.6; Abad 1992:172-4, no.30). In these and other cases,<sup>370</sup> though, the quantities of the coins are too low and their find-spots too poorly understood, to assuredly confirm or deny their character as offerings. There is no exemplar site in the region that has turned up a large array of coin offerings, such as the thousands found in the thermal waters at Bath (Aquae Sulis) or Coventina's well (Britannia), and which would otherwise attest to the

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lecho del río, al hacer las obras para el aislamiento del manantial, se hallaron con un enlosado alrededor, y debajo de estas losas aparecieron seis monedas de oro, y algunas de cobre, y una ara votiva romana que mide unos 80 cm de alto, y en su base unos 40 de ancho.” My translation: “At the site of Retortillo, five or six years ago, a spring of thermal waters of greater than 40 degrees was found in the channel of the Yeltes River. They isolated this spring, and extracted the river waters; and they have constructed a bathing establishment, which is giving excellent results and is still very busy. In the bed of the river, when they were conducting the work in order to isolate the spring, they came upon a paving round-about here, and below these paving stones six gold and some copper coins were found, and a Roman votive altar which measures some 80 cm in height, and at its base some 40 in width.”

<sup>370</sup> Various other hot-springs which were utilized in the Roman period, in Lusitania, include coins within their repertoires of finds. For example, Caldas do Cró (Guarda); Balneario de Ledesma (Salamanca); Cabeço de Vide (Portalegre), and Alange (Frade 1993:886, 888, nos.26, 36; Abad 1992:158-160). Abad (1992:169) also mentions single coin finds in the charca [pond] of Santa Ana (Trujillo) and in the lago [lake] of Proserpina.

popularity of the practice of offering coins in Lusitania (Walker 1988; Allason-Jones and McKay 1985:50-76). The significance of this general paucity will be discussed further below, once the evidence for coin offerings in other sacred contexts of rural Lusitania is, first, brought to light.

## **b.2) Coin offerings in other sacred contexts**

The infrequency of significant coin finds in springs and water sources is mirrored in the other Lusitanian cult settings, rural and urban. Coins are occasionally found in small quantities, but never in large collections or separate containers. For example, it is possible that a collection of 28 coins from the 3<sup>rd</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> century AD – ranging from Gallienus to Gratian – which were found at the, recently reinterpreted, town of Lancia Oppidana (Centum Cellas),<sup>371</sup> were offerings. This is suggested by their context: they were found in a small room that adjoins a large courtyard/forum at the axial centre of the site, and in this same room the excavators also found eight small marble altars,<sup>372</sup> a brick bench structure, and a hearth (fig.6.5) (Frade 2002:145-148; 2002b:189-191).<sup>373</sup> The artefacts in this room give it the flavour of a sacred space; Frade, who interpreted this site as a villa, considers this to be a *lararium* (ibid). However, if we accept Guerra and Schattner's reanalysis of this site as a *civitas capital* rather than a villa, this room should be interpreted as one of a series of spaces around the forum (Guerra and Schattner 2010:336). This location for a cult space is paralleled by a small room off of the forum at the important town of Munigua (Baetica), interpreted as sacred space based on the find of an altar to Dis Pater within it (fig.6.6) (Hauschild 1992:140, fig.7).<sup>374</sup> Such a context suggests that these coins may have been offerings (Frade 2002b:189,191).

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<sup>371</sup> See chapter four, section a.1 for more on Centum Cellas as a *civitas capital*.

<sup>372</sup> They were sealed under the abandoned roof of this small room (Frade 2002b:189).

<sup>373</sup> Unfortunately, the precise find-spots of the coins within the room is not given, although Frade hypothesizes that they relate to a deposit box of some sort (2002:146).

<sup>374</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Schattner for pointing out this comparison to me.

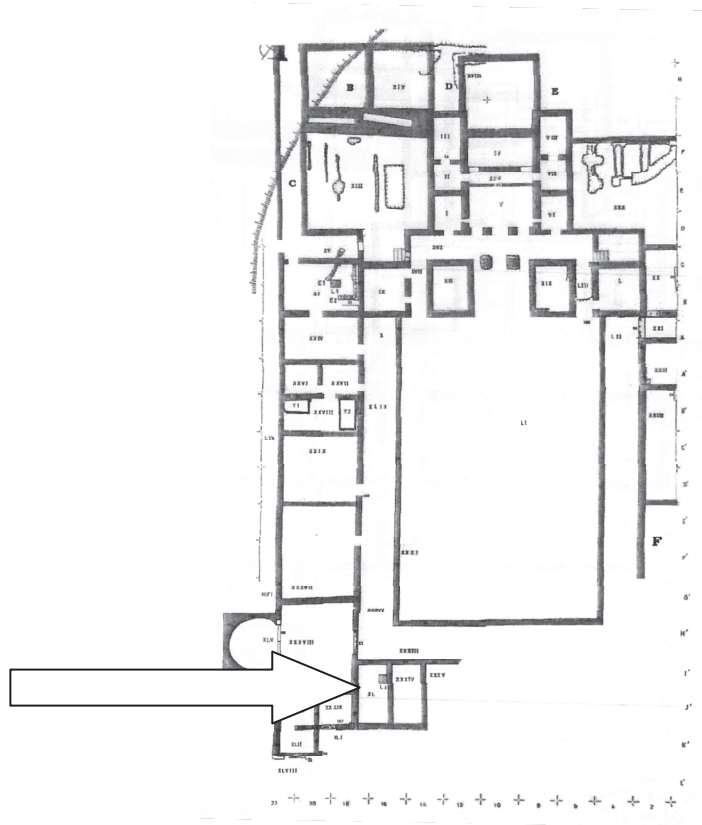


Fig.6.5: Plan of the third phase of Centum Cellas, showing the putative lararia/cult space XL (Frade 2000:estampa 44b).

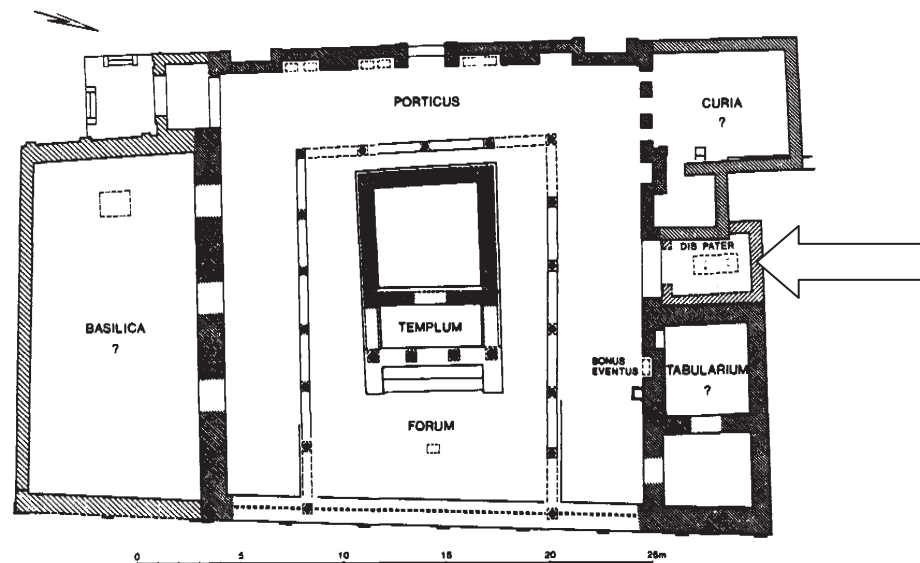


Fig.6.6: Forum at Munigua (Baetica), showing small, adjoining, cult space with Dis Pater altar (Hauschild 1992:fig.7)

A collection of four goat figurines (fig.6.7), a horse and rider figurine, and a larger goat head, were found at Torrejuncillo, in a vessel along with a number of Roman denarii (Beltrán 1982:83; Blázquez 1962a:129-130; Rodríguez Oliva

1990:96-97; Bronces 1990:216, no.100; ThesCRA no.967, p.446).<sup>375</sup> These coins were unfortunately not recorded and have since been lost, so it is difficult to assess their significance. Their association with the figurines may relate to a religious site. It is more probable, however, that this was another of the many hoards found in Lusitania, perhaps made up of material belonging to a small personal shrine.

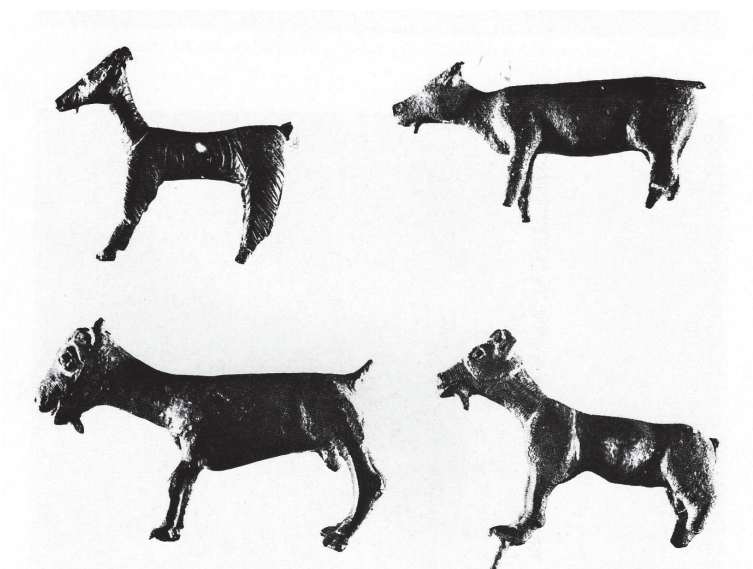


Fig.6.7: Bronze goat figurines from Torrejoncillo (Cáceres) (Beltrán 1982:Lam.XXIV; Museo de Cáceres)

Apart from these examples, coins found in cultic contexts in Lusitania tend to be loosely distributed, low in quantity, and lacking well identified find-spots, making it impossible to assess their use within the space. Only in two cases does the context allow us to assume coins were offerings: a few coins found within the votive deposit of Santa Bárbara, discussed above, must have been considered sacred, as is also probably true of the coins found in the aforementioned small room, of cultic character, at Centum Cellas (Lancia Oppidana) (Maia and Maia 1997:18).<sup>376</sup> This Lusitanian evidence is meager in comparison with collections of coin offerings left at

<sup>375</sup> The context of this find is unfortunately not further elucidated by the authors who refer to it. I, therefore, am unsure whether it pertains to a cult site, or should be considered a hoard. For more on this see: Blázquez 1962a (on the bronze figurines); Beltrán 1982:41, 83, Lams. XXIV, XXVI. Beltrán dates the figurines from Torrejoncillo to the 2<sup>nd</sup> -1<sup>st</sup> c. BC and records that they were found with Roman denarii.

<sup>376</sup> Unfortunately, all that the excavators record about these coins in their only publication on this deposit to date, is: "...some coins of the Antonine dynasty (2 denarii of Faustina, for example) corroborate the typology of the lamps themselves..." (Maia and Maia 1997:18, my translation). Original quote: "...algumas moedas da dinastia Antonina (2 denários de Faustina, por exemplo) corroboraram a tipologia das próprias lucernas..." (ibid).

other cult sites in the Roman Empire.<sup>377</sup> Whether related to springs and other watery contexts, or temples and temenos spaces, this was apparently a practice that never gained a great deal of momentum within the province – as evidenced by the archaeological record.

This apparent low frequency of coin offerings may be a consequence of: 1) the relative isolation of this specific province; 2) regional preferences and tradition; 3) the small numbers of devotees frequenting the cult places; or, 4) the fact that various sites are unexcavated or not thoroughly recorded. The first option does not, however, account for the fact that in the rest of the peninsula coin offerings, at least in respect to springs, are similarly uncommon (such an analysis of peninsula wide coin depositions in cult sites is still wanting) (Abad Varela 1992).<sup>378</sup> Perhaps, then, the coin was simply not a preferred votive medium here, either because it did not accord well with any preexisting patterns of worship, or simply did not ‘catch on’ with any intensity. In the north-western provinces of the Empire, for example, where there is ample record of coin deposition in springs and occasionally at cult sites, we also have evidence for the religious and ceremonial use of coins during the Iron Age at various types of sacred sites.<sup>379</sup> In other words, the use of coins in sacred contexts had a history in these provinces, and it can be tentatively assumed that this may have made these peoples predisposed to offer coins in springs and at temples during the

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<sup>377</sup> See for instance, for coins found within temples of Roman Britain see Wythe (2008:43-65), and also King (2008:25-42); for Gaul see Aubin and Meisssonier (1994:143-152) and Fauduet (2010:247-249), referring to Gallo-Roman temples.

<sup>378</sup> A few places elsewhere in Hispania were witness to significant numbers of coin offerings. For instance, the river of Burejo (noted in chapter three), just south of Herrera de Pisuerga (Palencia, conventus Tarraconensis) has turned up large numbers of coins as well as certain other metal finds that may have been tentatively considered offerings (Alfayé 2009:336 cf. Pérez González 1989:35); 75 Iberian and Republican coins were amongst the votive finds in the deposit found at Salvacañete (Cuenca) (Alfayé 2009:330-4 w/ further references); and a collection of some 500 coins was found in a hot spring at Caldas de Cuntis, Gallaecia (Díez de Velasco 1985:85, no.9). Nevertheless, in regards to Gallaecia, Díez de Velasco admits that in all other cases of coins found in baths of this region, besides Cuntis, the numbers of the coin finds are too scarce to allow any conclusion as to their use/purpose (1985:71). In other words, the Cuntis coin offerings were not characteristic of the region. Likewise, Herrera de Pisuerga is the site of a military camp of the Legio IV Macedonica, and therefore the coins offered into the river there might well have been left by foreigners, and thus not indicative of a local uptake of this practice. In fact, there are few noteworthy instances of large-scale votive coin depositions on the peninsula that I am aware of. It was already noted that collections of coins from watery contexts (the most common location for coin offerings) on the peninsula, recorded by Abad Varela, were generally meager in number (c.25-30 or fewer) (1992).

<sup>379</sup> The recent compilation *Iron Age Coinage and Ritual Practices* (Haselgrove and Wigg-Wolf 2005) argued that coinage in the Iron Age, in the regions of what would become the north-western Empire, had an important ritual meaning and context. Also see Haselgrove (2008), for the same conclusion in respect to north Gaul.

Roman era.<sup>380</sup> In Lusitania, there appears to be little evidence to support the widespread deposition of coins in sacred contexts prior to the Roman period. Therefore, pre-Roman patterns of worship may have, to some extent, determined the types of votive practices these people chose to adopt from their conquerors; in the Lusitanian case, this might have resulted in a fairly limited interest in the coin offering. On the other hand, Lusitania could also simply have been separate from the epicentre of this trend; just as it, and in fact the entire peninsula was removed from other such trends like the Romano-Celtic style temple, or the Jupiter Giant Column, which both became very popular in much of the north-western Empire. Finally, the two last options must be acknowledged. The low frequency of coins might be an indicator of a lower frequency of visitors to the baths and cult sites of rural Lusitania than other Imperial contexts. As many of the putative cult sites in Lusitania have yet to be excavated, it is, also, always possible that up-to-date excavations and recording techniques may someday alter our current understanding of this topic.

### **c) Votive altars and their significance**

Unlike the coin offering, the altar was a Roman votive medium that was widely accepted and proliferated in all of Lusitania.<sup>381</sup> According to the archaeological record this was by far the most common gift to the gods to derive from this province. Yet, these stone testaments were not only dedicated by the governing elite or the more cosmopolitan townsfolk. As was discussed in chapter five, a greater number of votive altars were found in non-urban than urban areas of Lusitania. Therefore, it appears that the habit of marking the completion of one's vow to the gods with an altar stone extended to all levels of society. The proliferation of these altars is both an important testament to the widespread uptake of a Roman cultural medium, and a record of the spread of the epigraphic habit from town to country, and throughout certain countryside regions.

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<sup>380</sup> However, it should be noted that Sauer has argued that the deposition of coins in springs had a Mediterranean origin, with the earliest evidence coming from Italy (forthcoming 509-510; 2005:110-116). Nevertheless, there is ample evidence for Iron Age coins in different pre-Roman religious contexts of the future north-western Empire, which suggests these peoples were predisposed to the practice of offering coins to the gods (see the previous footnote).

<sup>381</sup> For a count of the votive altars found in the province with legible deity-names and known provenance see chapter five.



Of course, the higher frequency of these items than many other types of votives is also a consequence of their durability and easy preservation, in contrast to other offerings. They are of great weight and lower recognized value than other offerings like bronze figurines, coins, statuary, etc., and so less likely to have been robbed or moved great distances throughout history. Nevertheless, this does not explain why a large number of votive altars have been found in Lusitania and its northern counterpart Gallaecia, while significantly fewer have been brought to light in other parts of the peninsula, such as Celtiberia (Marco 2009:205-6).<sup>382</sup> Consequently, the appetite that Lusitania, and especially rural Lusitania, had for the votive altar is an important and unique characteristic of the religious life of these people.

This appetite was not evenly spread across the whole province, though.<sup>383</sup> The very cosmopolitan, and Mediterranean-influenced, south of the province – the conventus Pacensis – only accounts for a small percentage of all votive altars dedicated in the province, especially if we subtract the distorting influence of the sanctuary of Endovellicus with its c. 90 votive inscriptions.<sup>384</sup> Rather than votive altars, the conventus Pacensis, instead, shows a preference for a more diversified array of offerings, in keeping with Mediterranean customs, such as the votive oil lamps of Santa Bárbara, Horta das Faias and Ossonoba, or the fibulae, statuettes and other offerings from Caldas de Monchique. Marco has already remarked on a similar low frequency of votive epigraphy in the highly urbanized east of the Iberian Peninsula, or in the ‘more Romanized’ southeast of Britannia and civitates of western Gaul (2009:208). All of these regions highlight the important observation that, as Marco puts it: “...epigraphic density is not directly proportional to degree of

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<sup>382</sup> Marco also records the important observation that in the regions of Gallaecia and Lusitania also account for a much larger number of indigenous deity-names than neighbouring Celtiberia which he equates with social differences inherent in the frequent use of castellum as place of origin in epigraphy of the west/north-west, and the association with familiar groups, or gentilitates, in the more specifically Celtic, central region (2009:205; 2005:292-293).

<sup>383</sup> There were also fewer votive inscriptions found in the north-east of the province, in what is now Salamanca. Only 18 votive inscriptions with apparent deity-name have been found in this province, which, as Salinas notes, is only 4% of the overall epigraphic testaments from that region (most are funerary) (2010:45-46). A similar lower frequency of votive altars is noticeable in the far northwest of the province as well. However, the general picture is of a greater density of votive altars, by far, in the conventus Scallabitanus and Emeritensis than the conventus Pacensis (see the following footnote).

<sup>384</sup> Roughly 16% of all the votive altars which I have catalogued derive from the conventus Pacensis. If the altars from the sanctuary of Endovellicus (S.Miguel da Mota) are omitted from this count, only c. 5% of the remaining votive altars come from this conventus.

Romanization” (2009:208, my translation).<sup>385</sup> Rather, areas that either were not exposed to a wide array of Roman cultic media, or chose not to adopt such media, often appear to have found the votive altar the best manner to adapt their own religious practices to new Imperial models.

### **c.1) Meaning and function of votive altars in rural Lusitania**

Accepting the importance of the votive altar in rural Lusitania, it is appropriate to turn to its meaning or function in the cult environment. Votive altars were both gifts to the gods, because they had been dedicated to the gods, just as figurines, statues or sacrificed animals were, and a testament of a vow completed. In other words, they marked the culmination of the whole votive ritual. This would have included the making of the vow or contract with the deity, the fulfillment of the offering (e.g. a sacrifice or a donation), and the public announcement of the vow fulfilled (*votum soluit*), by way of the votive inscription. As was commonplace in the empire, in Lusitania these votive inscriptions were erected at the end of this contract between man and god, when the vow had been completed (*solutio*), rather than at the start when it was promised (the *nuncupatio*) (Derks 1998:220-231). For this reason, and as their inscriptions most often follow a formulaic ending, we often do not know what the initial vow actually was – the completion of which was confirmed by the altar. However, on a few occasions the placement of the altars can give us a clue towards this end.

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<sup>385</sup> Original quote: “...la densidad epigráfica no es directamente proporcional al grado de romanización” (Marco 2009:208).

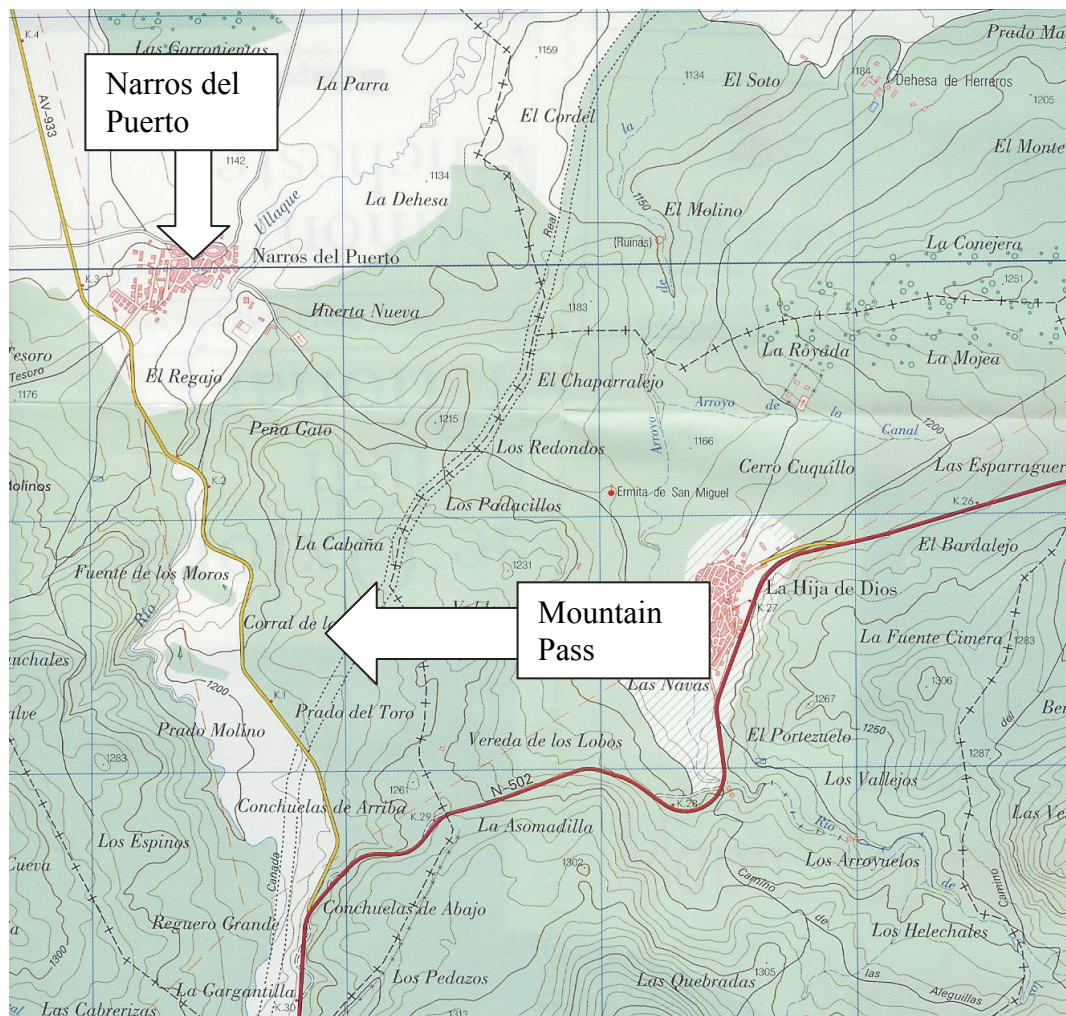


Fig.6.8: Location of Narros del Puerto at the start of an important pass through the Sierra de Gredos (MTN 530-IV, Scale = 1:25000)<sup>386</sup>

A good example of this relationship between the placement of altars and their purpose is the cluster of altars that were found built into a chapel at Narros del Puerto (conventus Emeritensis). This location is at the end of an important ancient pass through the Sierra de Gredos, as was noted in chapter four (fig.6.8). Presuming these altars are close to their original provenance, it seems very plausible that the vow which they refer to was a request for safe passage through the mountain pass (C.1.19). Suitably, they were dedicated to Ilurbeda, an indigenous god whose altars have been found in close proximity to mountain routes and passes<sup>387</sup>; Jupiter, mountain god par excellence; and the Lares Viales, roadway deities found in western

<sup>386</sup> For the position of Narros del Puerto within Lusitania see Map 1 (19).

<sup>387</sup> This is argued recently by Hernando (2005:153-164). She notes that all Ilurbeda altars come from the mountainous regions of the Sistema Central, and are generally located on communication routes and passes (Ibid:162-163). She also notes that other terms (theonyms/place-names) with the root – beda/-peda can be found at places of passage (see, Ibid:163-4)

Hispania.<sup>388</sup> A similar, well evidenced case from the Great St. Bernard Pass over the Alps, includes more than 50 small bronze tabulae ansatae which were left to Jupiter Poeninus, undoubtedly, in fulfillment of just such a request for safe passage (fig.6.9) (Walser 1984; Rüpke 2007:162).

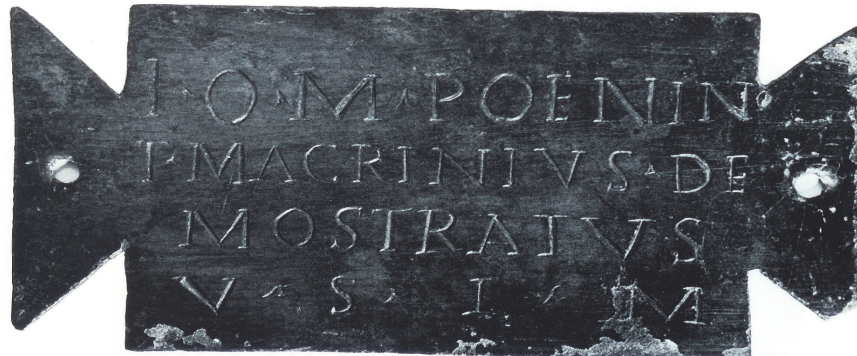


Fig.6.9: Tabula ansata from the sanctuary of Jupiter Poeninus, Great St. Bernard Pass, Alps (Walser 1984:106).

In many cases, as Haensch notes, inscriptions on stone altars were not the sole offering but were a record of some other object being offered (2007:182-3). Therefore, the ample corpus of altar stones from Lusitania is also evidence that further offerings were being made to the gods. These could be anything from a sacrificed animal, to a statue, renovation of the temple, etc.; this would correspond to the second stage in the votive ritual noted above. Haensch writes:

Rarely do we know what was dedicated (apart from the inscribed monument). In many cases the erection of the monument was part not only of a ritual, but also of a complex donation. But only seldom are the objects donated mentioned, because they could be seen at the time when the monument was dedicated and they became part of the inventory of the sanctuary, or were represented by the building inscription of the temple (or parts of it) (2007:182-3).

A few inscriptions that do tell us of precisely what was being dedicated at the time of the erection of the altar, hint at the wider commonality of this practice.

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<sup>388</sup> The Lares Viales were characteristically found in Gallaecia, especially the conventus Lucensis, though four Lusitanian dedications also exist. They are widely thought to be an interpretatio of another pre-Roman deity of roadways (Marco 2007b [esp. fig.3]).





Fig.6.10: Pedestal to the Genius of the Colonia Iulia Augusta Emerita, erected in Emerita by the freedman Caius Antistius, which records the votive offering of a palm (Edmondson 2007:547, fig.6; MNAR).

For instance, two pedestals have been found in Augusta Emerita that not only have carved holes in their top surfaces to support a votive object, but also carry inscriptions recording what this object would have been: a palm (made of metal) (Edmondson 2007:547-8, nos. 3, 4, figs. 6, 7b) (fig. 6.10).<sup>389</sup> Other pedestals record the erection of statues; these *signa* were offerings to the gods and, like all conspicuous donations, a means of elevating the status of the dedicator. For instance, a pedestal with a votive inscription found in Sines (southern Portugal), close to Mirobriga, records the erection of a statue to Mars Augustus by a priest of the Imperial cult (HEpOL 22806).<sup>390</sup> Dedicatory and votive inscriptions also record the erection of temples and shrines, as is the case with an altar from S. Sebastião (Midões, Tabúia) and an inscribed relief from the sanctuary of S. Miguel da Mota (C.1.27) (HEpOL 18960 and 23802). This latter inscription reads: *Deo Endoveli/co sacrum aedeolu(m) / C(aius) S(- - -) C[- - -] pro v(o)tum fecit* (HEpOL 23802) (fig. 6.11). The *aedeolum* would seem to refer to a small shrine/temple (*aedes*), perhaps built to house this relief (Vasconcellos 1905:138). Taken together, this collection of inscriptions

<sup>389</sup> A similar inscription to the Genius of the municipium of Nertobriga Concordia Iulia, in Baetica, was set up by Octavia Maxuma, and also records the offering of a silver palm (HEpOL 1023).

<sup>390</sup> See also, Edmondson (2007:547, no. 2, figs. 5a-b) for a pedestal from Augusta Emerita which tells us that it supported a gold bust of Titus, weighing five pounds.

recording offerings helps to further elucidate the character of Lusitanian votives. In their majority, these aforementioned inscriptions belong to the urban sphere, with the important exception of those examples from S. Miguel da Mota, where lavish dedications of statues, shrines and the like, were also an effective means of personal and political promotion.

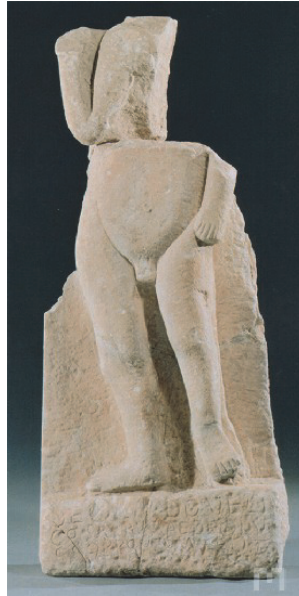


Fig.6.11: Inscribed relief of a nude divinity (Endovellicus), from the sanctuary of S. Miguel da Mota (Terena, Alandroal) (Image: HEpOL 23802; MNA).

Frequently in Lusitania, as elsewhere in the western Empire, altar stones were particular to the individual devotee rather than being communal or public monuments on which the cult sacrifices were carried out. Of the large quantities of individual altars found dedicated at certain Roman period sanctuaries, Haensch writes:

In the cases where *arae* were dedicated, we find apparently a new understanding of the concept of the altar. Until then the adherents of a certain god or goddess had used the altar erected at the time of the founding of the sanctuary to burn incense or immolate the parts of the sacrificed animal destined for the god (e.g. ILS 112, 4907). But now at least many of the dedicators did not use an altar erected by another person but preferred their personal one... As a result the sanctuary was filled up with *arae* to such an extent that new ones blocked the way to the older ones (Haensch 2007:183).

This practice of individual worshippers erecting altars as offerings is evidenced by numerous cult sites throughout the Empire. In Gaul for instance, Derks records that the sanctuaries of Colijnsplaat, Morken-Harff and Pesch, alone account for more than 700 altar stones, almost all inscribed (1998:221). In northwest Hispania, at the 3<sup>rd</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> century open air, countryside cult site of Monte Facho de Donón, nearly a hundred

inscribed altars have been found (Schattner, Suárez, Koch 2004:23-71). In terms of Lusitania, I have already made frequent mention of the rural sanctuary of São Miguel da Mota, in the conventus Pacensis, with its c. 90 inscribed monuments (mostly altars), or the ample clusters of altars from Sta. Lucía del Trampal, Postoloboso, Narros del Puerto, Quinta de S. Domingos, and the aedicula on the hill of Piedras Labradas (Jarilla) (C.1.11, 1.19, 1.21, 1.22, 1.25, 1.27).

The stone altars at these and the other cult sites of rural Lusitania were not necessarily an elaborate offering. In many cases these were made of less valuable stone, such as local granite, and could be miniature in size. Also, there are innumerable examples of anepigraphic altar stones, as well, in various Lusitanian countryside contexts: such as, for example, the vast majority of the altars found at the temple on the hill of Piedras Labradas, Jarilla, or a number of those found at Quinta do São Domingos (an altar cluster at the base of the hill of Cabeço das Fráguas) (C.1.11, 1.22). This might suggest that the dedicators found it easier or more economical to paint rather than inscribe their dedication (Keppie 1991:93), or perhaps the altars were never inscribed but left blank. On other occasions parts were omitted from the inscription, such as the deity-name (see Canas de Senhorim, C.2.2), or the dedicator's name. Dedicator names are almost completely absent in the large, rural altar cluster found at Monte Facho de Donón (Gallaecia), which, according to Koch, suggests that this sanctuary belonged to a closed social group (Koch 2005:826-7). It is clear, therefore, that altars were not only cult property utilized for staging ritual sacrifices, but a type of individual offering to the gods, which could be tailored to fit the desires and means of the devotee. In politically charged contexts, such as the urban forum, or perhaps even a vibrant countryside sanctuary like S. Miguel da Mota, they could be a means of self-promotion by way of a show of wealth. In more private, rural, settings a less elaborate, more rudimentary and often quite variable, version emerged to suit the particular contexts. In either case, the altar stone became an important and preferred cultic donation in rural Lusitania. It functioned, varyingly, as an offering to the gods; a record that a vow had been completed; a testament of another object dedicated; and an indelible record of the pious behavior of an individual devotee.

## **c.2) Sta. Lucía del Trampal, goat figurines and the votive altar**

Altars could also take on peculiarities in relation to a specific cult, or at a specific cult site: as such they gave voice to the collective identity of the worshippers as participants in that particular cult. The characteristics in the design of altar stones at one cult site may be unique, and/or might even evolve in a definable pattern over time.<sup>391</sup> The altars found built into the chapel of Sta. Lucía del Trampal, and surrounding buildings, are a case in point (C.1.25). These shared one distinctive similarity: the majority had one or two, quadrangular or circular, small holes hewn out of their top surfaces, and generally lacked the usual focus/foculus (Salas and Rosco 1993:67; Abascal 1995:34 ff). It is posited by various scholars that these holes would have allowed votive figurines to be attached to the tops of the altars. For reasons I will explain below, these figurines are commonly presumed to have been representations of goats. Salas and Rosco, who conducted a study of the votive altars from Sta. Lucía del Trampal write:

The dimensions, as much as the shapes, of these holes seem to refute the possibility that we are dealing with the traditional focus which often accompanies Roman votive altars. It is probable, then, that these holes would have served to affix the iconographic representations of goats, an animal which appears associated with Ataecina, to the part above the cornice of the altar by way of one or two spikes (1993:67, my translation).<sup>392</sup>

Though altars dedicated to Ataecina were found in various locations (see fig.5.3 above), these comments refer to the altars from the cult site which existed at or around Sta. Lucía del Trampal, where the greatest accumulation of altars to Ataecina was found. Salas and Rosco note either one or two cavities on the top of the altars, in all but six cases. These six are either fragmentary in nature, built into the current chapel, or no longer extant (1993:4.10, 4.11, 4.14, 4.17). No such cavities are mentioned in the case of the two altars from the site that were not dedicated to Ataecina, though one of these, to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, is missing its cornice (1993:nos.4.16, 4.15).

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<sup>391</sup> For example, the altars from Monte Facho de Donón (in Gallaecia) have been divided into four types: groups I and II, were longer and wider, and belong to an initial phase in the cult site; groups III and IV were narrower and shorter, and many of them display decorative motifs rather than text, and belong to a second phase in the evolution of the sanctuary (Schattner et al. 2004:68-70).

<sup>392</sup> “Tanto las dimensiones como las formas de estos huecos parecen descartar que se trata del tradicional focus que suele acompañar a las aras votives romanas. Es probable, pues, que estas oquedades sirvieron para la fijación de la representación iconográfica de una cabrita, animal vinculado al parecer a Ataecina, en la parte superior de la cornisa del ara mediante uno o dos espigones” (Salas and Rosco 1993:67).



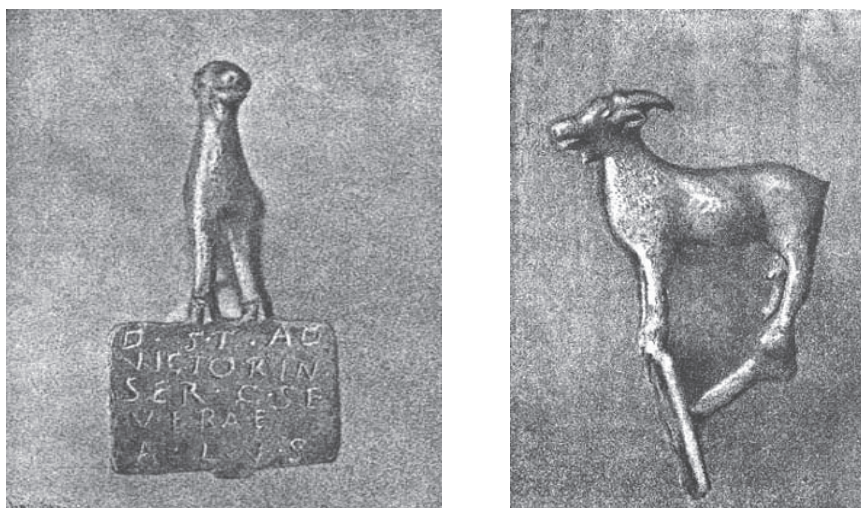


Fig.6.12: a) Front-view of bronze goat figurine with plaque dedicated to D(eae) S(anctae) T(uribrigensi) Ad(aeginae) = Ataecina, from Malpartida de Cáceres; b) Side-view (Fita 1885a:431, No scale provided).



Fig.6.13: Figurine of two bronze goats from Medellín, Badajoz (Bronces 1990:219, no.99; MNAR no.CE09989, Figure = 5 cm tall x 10cm long)

The hypothesis that these holes were destined to hold goat figurines rests on a couple of points. Firstly, the association between Ataecina and the goat is confirmed by two small bronze figurines of goats with plaques, bearing dedicatory inscriptions to Ataecina, attached to their feet. These were found in the so-called ‘dehesa [pasture] Zafrilla,’ circa 3 km southeast of Malpartida de Cáceres (figs 6.12a and b) (Fita 1885a:430-432 and 1885b:45-46; Ferrer 1948:288-291; Abascal 1995:96: HEpOL 22084, 22083).<sup>393</sup> These also mimic the arrangement of a goat on top of a

<sup>393</sup> Unfortunately little is known of the original context of these finds apart from the fact that they were found at the same location, the dehesa Zafrilla, as was a third lapidary inscription which might also relate to the cult of Ataecina (Abascal 1995:87). Abascal supposes that this evidence related to a small sanctuary, the particulars of which are unfortunately unknown to us (1995:87).

votive inscription, which is suggested by this theory. Secondly, various goat figurines from the region are argued to be apt for attachment to an altar. For example, a bronze figurine, found in Medellín, depicts two goats standing parallel to one another with their front and back feet attached to parallel bars. It is thought that these two parallel bars might correspond to opposing grooves on the tops of some of the altars to Ataecina (fig.6.13) (Abascal 1995:96; Bronces 1990:216, no.99; Nogales 1990:109; MNAR Inv.CE09989).<sup>394</sup> Besides this, Abascal also records other goat figurines with little projections, or spikes, on their feet, that he posits might equally fit into corresponding holes in certain of Ataecina's altars (1995:96). In his examples, he includes a series of four bronze goat figurines found in Torrejuncillo, noted above, which Beltrán records were encountered in a vessel along with a large goat head, and some Roman denarii (fig.6.7 above) (Beltrán 1982:83; Abascal 1995:96). Two of these goats are missing their hind/front-feet, but one clearly has a spike projecting from its front-feet. Another bronze goat figurine from Aliseda, Cáceres, has spikes remaining on both its fore and hind-feet (Beltrán 1982:41, 83, Lam.XXV).<sup>395</sup> Vasconcellos records three bronze goat figurines, of unknown original provenance, belonging to the Museum of Évora, which he posits might relate to Ataecina's cult (figs 6.14a-c; 1905:171-2; figs 34<sup>a</sup>-36<sup>a</sup>; Abascal 1995:96, no.10). Again, two of these have their hind and fore-feet connected in the same manner as the Malpartida pieces, as if to attach to a small plaque or fit into a single hole; the third has projections extending from each of its hooves.

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<sup>394</sup> Also see MNA no.17920, a bronze statuette of a goat with both fore- and hind-feet attached to small panels (although, of unknown provenance and attributed to the Iron Age).

<sup>395</sup> However, it should be noted that Abascal does not think this goat figurine relates to the same temporal background as the others (1995:95).



Fig. 34.ª (Do Museu de Évora)

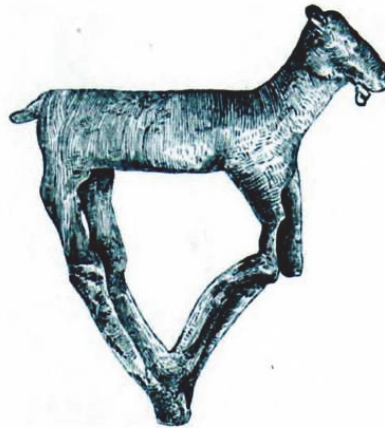


Fig. 35.ª (Do Museu de Évora)

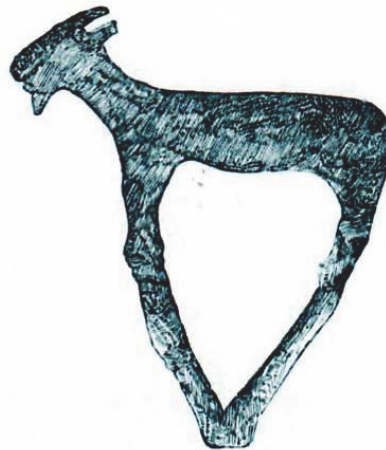


Fig. 36.ª (Do Museu de Évora)

Fig.6.14a-c: Depictions of the bronze goat figurines from the Museum of Évora (Vasconcelos 1905:171, nos.34-35ª and 172 no.36ª, no scale provided)

To my knowledge, the affixing of such bronzes to the altars in question has not actually been attempted, and it is not entirely clear whether such bronzes noted in this argument are proposed to be ‘the ones’ that were attached to the altars, or (more plausibly) simply to represent the ‘type’ of figurines that would have been utilized. Abascal also admits that there is no conclusive evidence of this affixing such as

remnants of cement on the bronzes or in the altar holes (1995:95). Nevertheless, the argument remains persuasive. We know that small metal objects were attached to holes in the tops of large stone pedestals in this province; the aforementioned pedestals from Emerita, which have similar holes and inscriptions indicating the donation of metal palms (that clearly would have been affixed into the corresponding holes), are a case in point. Thus, figurines were not only attached to individual bases of wood, metal or stone, as we would assume, but also to large inscribed blocks. We also have evidence that the goat was directly associated with Ataecina's cult in the aforementioned Malpartida plaques. Moreover, we know some surviving bronze goat figurines did have spikes on their feet for affixing to something. It is, of course, also reasonable to think that other votive figurines, perhaps of the deity or of other animals could also have been affixed to the altars.<sup>396</sup> Or, ephemeral material may have been intended for these holes: such as liquid libations, flowers, or incense. Nevertheless, these altars are unique in the context of Lusitanian countryside religion, and appear to be specific to the cult of Ataecina at Sta. Lucía.<sup>397</sup> By selecting this cult-specific type of offering, the devotees identified themselves as a part of this collective group of Ataecina's worshippers.

#### **d) Sacrificial animals**

As I have noted, altar stones recorded that a vow made to a deity had been completed. Often, this vow was a promise to sacrifice something to the god. The sacrificial victim, therefore, was the gift to the god for services rendered. From what evidence is available, it appears that sacrificial offerings were made frequently in the Lusitanian countryside, in Roman times, as was probably also true of the pre-Roman era.<sup>398</sup> As noted in the introduction to this thesis, a few ancient sources speak of

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<sup>396</sup> For example, García y Bellido records a bronze seated deer figurine, from the Calzadilla Collection (of the Museo Arqueológico de Badajoz) from the general area of the dispersal of Ataecina's cult. This also has a short panel/rod extending from the front base, in order to connect it to a base or pedestal (or altar?). García y Bellido suggests that various deer images and figurines from this region may be associated with the cult of Ataecina (1957:123-124, 136 and figs.12-14).

<sup>397</sup> Small holes in the sides of the rock-shrine at Cenicientos have been suggested to have possibly held votive objects (Alfayé 2009:143, cf. Knapp 1992:195; C.1.9). Nevertheless, Canto's assertion, followed by Alfayé, that these relate to some type of roofing belonging to a much later shepherd's shelter here, seems less tenuous a conclusion (Alfayé 2009:143-4, cf. Canto 1994:276, no.9).

<sup>398</sup> Evidence of Iron Age II sacrifice in western (and primarily north-western) Iberia includes a series of bronze figurines depicting multiple sacrificial animals, which various authors have related to something akin to the practice of *suovetaurilia* (see Santos 2007:186ff). However, Schattner has

human sacrifice among the indigenous peoples of western Iberia (e.g. Livy, *Periochae* 49; Strabo 3.3.6-7; Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae* 83). There is little archaeological evidence from Lusitania for this practice, apart from a skull found in the Iron Age II deposit at Garvão, and three burials beneath the town walls of Ledesma (Bletisama) which have been argued to be foundation sacrifices.<sup>399</sup> The Romans banned the practice, and prior to this it was probably only used in exceptional cases (Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, 30.3; Marco 2007:163). Instead, animal sacrifice would have been the norm.<sup>400</sup>

Though sacrifices would have been regularly practiced in rural Lusitania during the Roman period, faunal remains have not been recorded at the majority of the cult sites. This may well be due to a lack of excavation and analysis, or inconsistencies in the recording of sites. Thus we are left generally with only scraps of information. For instance, at a crypt sanctuary and necropolis, found in the city of Lisbon (perhaps on the outskirts of ancient Olisipo), human and boar bones are recorded in connection with the crypt (Appendix II, no.15; Vieira da Silva 1944a:37-41).<sup>401</sup> The human bones, of course, related to the deceased; the boar bones, on the other hand, are a possible indication that this animal was sacrificed here during a funerary ritual. Similarly, a few generically termed ‘animal bone’ fragments or splinters were recorded mixed into the ashy, oily soil of the oil lamp votive deposit at

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recently argued that these bronze figurines and other reliefs showing sacrifice and processions were influenced by Roman art forms and so must date to a period in which Roman influence was palpable in the region. Nevertheless, they include local peculiarities, like the cauldron in place of the altar, and do not follow the Classical arrangement of a *suovetaurilia* (Schattner 2010). Therefore, even if produced under Roman influence, they still are indicative of local religious practice, with roots in the pre-Roman era.

<sup>399</sup> The human skull was found at the base of the pre-Roman votive deposit at Garvão (Ourique, Portugal). It was situated within a box made of stone blocks which sat directly on the flat stone layer that formed the bottom of the deposit. The skull shows signs that three intense blows were made to the head, which Antunes and Cunha consider the cause of death. They posited that these blows were carried out with a blunt instrument, possibly the polished stone axe found in the deposit along with the skull (Antunes and Cunha 1986:82-85; Alfayé 2009:232). Alfayé suggests that this might have been part of a ceremony to consecrate the newly opened deposit, which was also the interpretation of Beirão et al., the site’s excavators (Alfayé 2009:232-233; Beirão et al. 1985:60). For the burials at Ledesma (Bletisama) see Santos 2007:191-192. This possible case of human sacrifice is augmented by record of such a practice amongst the Bletonenses, in Plutarch (*Quaest. Rom.* 83).

<sup>400</sup> Human sacrifice was practiced by the Celts – and potentially, therefore, the Celtic influenced parts of Lusitania – prior to the Roman ban on the practice. Nevertheless, this was probably not a regular ritual but more, as Marco has pointed out, an exceptional and irregular case (2007:163,182).

<sup>401</sup> Three altar stones were also found here, reiterating the sacred nature of the spot. See Vieira da Silva 1944b:268-278 and, with more up-to-date revised readings, Marques 2005: corpus, nos.13-15 (Poço das Cortes).

Santa Bárbara, though they are not further elucidated (Maia and Maia 1997:18,19). Taken with the ash, as noted above, these could be attestations of sacrifices made at the spot. Finally, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century three human skulls, one bull cranium, and unspecified bones were excavated in a cellar (sótano) below a hypocaust at the site of Las Torrecillas (C.2.11). These were found along with a coin, a knife and an iron ladle or simpulum with a bull-head on its handle<sup>402</sup> (Sanguino 1911:447 ff; García-Bellido 1996:285; Abascal 1996:277-8). Taken together, these appear to be remnants of a sacrificial ritual of some sort. Though it is unclear why the human skulls are here it is unlikely that they were sacrificial victims since the practice of human sacrifice was banned under the Romans. Unfortunately, these crania have since been lost, so it is impossible to further examine them.



Fig.6.15: Statue of a votive pig/boar from S. Miguel da Mota (Matos 1995:173, no.108; MNA No 988.3.182)

On other occasions, though the bones of these sacrificial animals do not remain, they are made known to us through extant iconography.<sup>403</sup> At the sanctuary of S. Miguel da Mota, the site's sculptural repertoire includes one sculpture of a wild boar and another of either a domestic pig or a boar (fig.6.15) (Guerra et al. 2003:468 ff; Matos 1995:no.108; C.1.27). A stone altar from the same site also has a depiction of a boar on its posterior side (Matos 1995:no.110; MNA 988.3.1). All these suggest that this may have been the animal commonly sacrificed to Endovellicus, who was worshipped at the site. One wonders if the large repertoire of Iron Age and Roman

<sup>402</sup> Certain other finds found elsewhere at the site appear to also relate to a cult site (perhaps a temple or adorned baths) here, such as a capital, a fragment from a Venus statue with a dolphin, and a statue of Minerva (and another bronze of Minerva from Alcuéscar which may relate to the site) (see García-Bellido 1996:285).

<sup>403</sup> For example, from the urban context, a relief from August Emerita depicts a sacrifice to the Imperial cult. It includes, on the left, Marcus Agrippa pouring a ritual libation, and, on the right, the sacrificial procession of the victim (a bull) to be sacrificed (Poveda Navarro 1999:389-406).

verracos (boar, bull, and pig sculptures) that characterize the lands of the Vettones might also be an indication of the common sacrificial victims in the region. A few of these sculptures, in the shape of bulls, were found in the immediate environment of the altar cluster at Postoloboso<sup>404</sup> and could relate to cult practices here, although, as Schattner et al. note, this cannot be confirmed (C.1.21) (Schattner et al. 2006:219 and footnote 25). Less hypothetically speaking, given that Álvarez-Sanchís has identified the verracos at Postoloboso as bulls (where it could be told), this animal may well have held special, and perhaps spiritual, significance in the region from pre-Roman times<sup>405</sup> (1999:349, nos.56-61). As such, bulls are at least a candidate for the type of beast sacrificed at the local cult place of Postoloboso. Similarly, the association that existed between the goddess Ataecina and the goat, as was evidenced by the Malpartida plaques noted above, suggests that this animal was sacrificed to her. It is also possible that the goat figurines attached to her altar stones might have acted as symbolic replacements for the actual sacrifice of this animal.

Both faunal remains and iconography, therefore, attest to the practice of sacrifice in rural Lusitania and elucidate, to some degree, its character. Another testament of the practice of sacrifice can be, tentatively, appreciated in the physical layout of certain cult sites, namely the ‘rock sanctuaries’ (*santuarios rupestres*). Late 2<sup>nd</sup> to early 3<sup>rd</sup> century inscriptions from the rock sanctuary of Panóias (northwest Tarraconensis) indicate the manner in which sacrifices were to take place – i.e. where the animal was to be immolated, where the blood should run off, etc. – within the rock cut complex, making use of its basins and channels (Alföldy 1995:252-258; 1997:176-246). These same features are found on other rock outcrops of western Hispania and, though notoriously difficult to interpret, may in cases also relate to sacrificial practices or the pouring of libations.<sup>406</sup> In rural Lusitania, rocks with rock-

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<sup>404</sup> Álvarez-Sanchís records six verracos in the municipality of Candeleda (within which Postoloboso is located). One is from the Castro El Raso, on the mountain which rises up behind Postoloboso, one just south of there at Pantano del Rosarito, and another one km away at the site of “El Cercado” (1999:349, nos.56-8). Three others were found in the castro of Castillejo de Chilla (Ibid:349, nos.59-61). Of all six, the type of two cannot be determined, and the others are identified as bulls.

<sup>405</sup> The verraco sculptures date to the Iron Age II and Roman periods (see more on their chronology in Álvarez-Sanchís 1999:262 ff). Álvarez-Sanchís is not able to establish a chronology for most of the six verracos found in the region of Postoloboso, though he does classify one as Type 2 (Iron Age II) and another as Type 5 (Roman) in origin (ibid).

<sup>406</sup> For more on rock sanctuaries of western Hispania, of both pre-Roman and Roman date, and their interpretation and typology, see Correia Santos 2010b: 147-172.

cut basins and/or channels have been found in certain Roman/Romanized contexts, such as, for example, the castros of Três Rios (Viseu) and Ucha (São Pedro do Sul)<sup>407</sup> (C.1.8, 2.4). Other such sites in western Hispania suggest that these ‘rock sanctuaries’ were a traditional locus for ritual sacrifice (Correia Santos 2010b). However, as Alfayé rightly points out, their purpose is difficult to ascertain and often must be considered with due caution (2009:145-179).

A small series of inscriptions from the conventus Emeritensis offer more definitive evidence of sacrifice. These belong to vernacular religious traditions rather than imported practices, and are inscribed in the pre-Roman ‘Lusitanian’ language using the Latin alphabet (see chapter two, section c). They include the inscriptions on rock outcrops at Cabeço das Fráguas (Pousafoles do Bispo), and Lamas de Moledo (Castro Daire), and on a stone slab at Arronches (Portalegre) (C.1.4, 1.18; Appendix II, no.2). These are similar in that they all record sacrifices, but differ in the deities and animal victims noted. This gives them an imminently local flavour, undoubtedly governed by the types of animals reared in their immediate environment and the local and regional gods in question. The slab from Arronches, for instance, includes a large number of sheep as its primary victims, sacrificed to a variety of deities (Carneiro et al. 2008; Prósper and Villar 2009; Cardim Ribeiro 2010).<sup>408</sup> The inscription from the hill of Cabeço das Fráguas is most commonly interpreted to record five sacrificial animals: a sheep, a suckling pig, a calf, a lamb of one year and a bull, to five indigenous deities (Santos 2007:180ff).<sup>409</sup> In contrast, that inscribed at Lamas de Moledo, only appears to include two victims to be offered to two different

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<sup>407</sup> The putative rock sanctuary, so-called the ‘Altar de São João’ located near the Roman settlement of Fontelo (Sendim), bears no marks of basins or channels which may relate to sacrifice or libations, as far as I am aware (C.2.1). The possible rock sanctuary at Rocha da Mina includes Roman remains, but these are related to industry (mining) and not apparently religious (Calado 1996). Moreover, I am doubtful that this was even a pre-Roman sanctuary as has been posited (see Appendix II, no.16). Similar rock-hewn features at Mogueira often considered to belong to a ‘rock sanctuary’ have recently been determined to relate to Medieval habitations. The Roman period cultic activity at this site appears, rather, to pertain to the series of rock inscriptions further down the hill-slope, next to the Douro River (C.1.7; Correia Santos forthcoming; 2010a:187-192; 2010b:155).

<sup>408</sup> This newly discovered ‘Lusitanian’ inscription is very much debated (see the above references). All the authors to comment on it appear to agree on the high frequency of sheep (oila, oilam) in the offerings.

<sup>409</sup> See Santos 2007:180ff for a full description of the varying interpretations of this inscription. Many have related this to the Roman *suovetaurilia* which Cato records accompanied the purification (*lustratio*) of the fields, and its equivalent in the Indian *sautrámani*, Persian and Greek traditions (Marco 2005:318). See Santos (2007), once again, for a discussion of this topic and the way in which the Lusitanian inscriptions are unique from these other cases.



deities (in most interpretations, see Santos 2005:49ff).<sup>410</sup> As Carneiro et al. point out, all of these appear to bear witness to seasonal rituals of local populations; they are “...evidence of a solemn agrarian ritual, linked to the cycle of vegetation and animal reproduction” (2008:174 and footnote 20 w/ cross refs).<sup>411</sup> They also speak to the wide range of variance in the gifts offered to the gods in rural Lusitania. Taken together with the iconographic, literary, and faunal evidence, it becomes apparent that animal sacrifice – though perhaps not having left a significant footprint in the archaeological record – was practised regularly in rural Lusitania in accordance with local preference and tradition.

### **e) Conclusion**

The last seven words of the preceding paragraph encapsulate what I have discovered about the practice of offering votives in rural Lusitania: it happened ‘in accordance with local preference and tradition’. Votive offerings varied greatly in quantity, quality and nature, and do not seem to have been regulated in any measurable way. Specific regions exhibited their own distinct traditions, such as the ritual lighting of oil lamps and their subsequent, organized deposition in votive deposits that took place in southern Lusitania. Similarly, specific cult sites evolved their own, characteristic offerings. This was the case with the altars from Sta. Lucía del Trampal, which are testament to a particularly local trend. The elaborate nature of some of the altars and statuary from S. Miguel da Mota, in light of the quality of other rural offerings, is itself another site-specific trend, as too may be the offering of specific types of sacrificial beasts at certain cult sites.

Trends in votive offerings are most clearly evidenced on a local, or at best regional, scale, except for the dedication of altar stones which spanned the majority of the province. This was not only an urban phenomenon; it spread throughout the province and took root most intensely in regions that had lower levels of pre-Roman urbanization (much of the *conventus Scallabitanus* and *Emeritensis*). The countryside altars are, therefore, testament to the extensive reach of Roman cultural influence, as

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<sup>410</sup> Also see chapter four, footnote 227.

<sup>411</sup> “...testemunho de um solene ritual agrário, ligado ao ciclo da vegetação e da reprodução animal” (Carneiro et al. 2008:174). In this statement, Carneiro et al. are referring to the Lusitanian-language inscriptions as well as a Latin inscription on an altar from Marecos, Penafiel (*Gallaecia*).

well as the fervency of town-to-country interconnectedness throughout the region. Perhaps, the local uptake of the votive altar can also be attributed to the fact that it suited the character of the local cult. In other words, if much of the local cult, especially in the more remote regions, prioritized sacred natural settings, and included sacrifice as an important component, then the votive altar or inscribed rock was an obvious tool to both mark out a sacred spot in the landscape, and immortalize the act of the sacrifice.

What the altar stone achieved in popularity in rural Lusitania, the coin offering lacked. It is unclear why this practice of offering coins to the gods is so scantily evidenced in rural Lusitania in contrast to many other Imperial settings, as it is evident that the provincials were not unwilling to offer everyday items to their deities. After all, this was an inexpensive and widely available manner to venerate a god, and the general paucity of elaborate votive offerings and the humble nature of others (e.g. the various small anepigraphic altars), clearly demonstrates that many rural worshippers were not affluent. It is, therefore, perhaps best to deduce that the offering of coins simply never became popular in the province. The explanation for this probably lies somewhere between the isolation of the province from Mediterranean influence and other epicentres of this trend, and the Lusitanian peoples personal preferences, and local traditions, in the votive offerings they chose.

Finally, the low quantity of votive offerings found in Lusitania, in contrast to various other provinces of the Roman Empire, is another provincial characteristic. This is not to say that the Lusitanians did not offer many gifts to the gods but simply that these were likely to have often been ephemeral in nature. Or, that offerings were made on a local or private scale in which conspicuous displays of wealth and status – by way of votive offerings associated with cult sites – were not necessary or, perhaps, affordable. Over all, the votive remains from the region match the character of the cult sites in which they were found, in their generally unelaborated, small scale and often personal character. Exceptions to this reflect, once again, the obvious heterogeneity of cult practice within Lusitania, and particularly the cultural rift that existed between the *conventus Pacensis* to the south of the province, and the *conventus Emeritensis* and *Scallabitanus* to the north.

## **VII. Conclusion:**

This thesis set out to contextualize Lusitanian countryside religion by approaching this single topic from different avenues. Many findings have arisen out of this approach. On occasion, these discoveries are nearly universal to the province, at other times, site specific. Yet, they all amount to a clearer picture of how the rural Lusitanians were worshipping during the Roman period. This in turn furnishes a more comprehensive understanding of regional rural dynamics, town-to-country interaction, and the impact of the Roman conquest on this periphery.

The first of the three subsections of this thesis explored continuity and change in the rural religious landscape. Its most significant contribution was the conclusion that, in terms of archaeological traceability, the religious landscape that developed in the 1<sup>st</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> century was significantly different from that which had existed prior or developed subsequently. This is a noteworthy finding that needs to be taken into account in any discussion of rural religious conservatism. Notwithstanding the tentative dating of many of the cult spaces, this chapter also revealed that the larger cult sites of rural Lusitania were associated with periods of ‘monumentalization’ in the urban landscape, or with such trends as the widespread dissemination of the epigraphic habit in the late 2<sup>nd</sup>/early 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries. In periods of instability, such as the period of conquest and the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries, evidence for religious activity decreased. The erection of private or communal cult sites and the offering of votive dedications are both poorly evidenced during these periods of uncertainty. The beliefs, previously manifested through these shrines and dedications, may nevertheless have endured.

In the second section of this thesis, Interaction, the activity of contextualizing cult turned to space rather than time. Both the natural and man-made rural environments were explored to ascertain how each gave birth to expressions of worship. The locations of the cult spaces of the rural sphere of Lusitania often marked prominent points in the landscape, had broad-ranging views, and incorporated important natural elements like springs and unique stones. This evidence accords with the importance of ‘nature deities’ in the epigraphic register of this province; the nature-based etymology proposed for many of the western Hispanic indigenous deities (developed, most thoroughly, by Prósper 2002); and with

Christian accounts of continued nature-based worship in western Hispania well into late antiquity.

The significance of nature in the Roman period worship of rural Lusitania may well reflect continuity of pre-Roman belief and tradition; nevertheless, this likelihood must be balanced against chapter two's discovery that little archaeological evidence attests that individual cult places continued to be places of worship, uninterrupted from the Iron Age II until the Roman Imperial period. This evident discontinuity could be due to the fact that nature worship was practised – in either era – in a manner which is undetectable. However, it is still unwise to consider the Roman period prioritization of unique natural places for cult space as definite confirmation that the pre-Roman religious landscape persisted unchanged into Roman times. I prefer to stress the conclusion that during the Roman period, religiosity of rural Lusitania was intimately linked to the given natural landscape.

The subsequent chapter on rural cult and the man-made environment added a parallel conclusion: besides being heavily naturalistic, the cult spaces of this region were also indivisible from the territorial infrastructure of their day. Numerous different connections were drawn between cult spaces and roadways, industrial installations, borders, private properties, *vici*, and *civitas* capitals. These connections need not contradict the fact that the rural cult spaces were especially natural in appearance and orientation. In a landscape replete with springs, commanding high-points, and distinctive rock outcrops, natural features chosen for cult space tended to have physical or visual ties with parts of the man-made environment. This is to be expected. More curious is the discovery that few rural cult shrines or monuments have been discovered in very close proximity to urban centres. Instead, as I noted, a medial distance of 10 to 20 km appears to have been common. Additionally, this chapter concluded that cult spaces on villa estates appear to have had little resonance in the countryside until at least the late Roman period, and the official governing apparatus played a very minimal role in actively promoting or stimulating rural cult. This would seem to suggest that rural sanctuaries were not being used as a means to acculturate the locals – at least not on behalf of the governing apparatus.

The two chapters of the final section of this thesis, *Devotion*, evaluated which deities were attested in the rural as opposed to the urban sphere, and assessed what

form this worship took by focusing on votive offerings. The first of these chapters, *Gods of the Countryside*, argued against the rigid division of indigenous gods of the country and Roman deities of the town. It also revealed that worship of indigenous deities need not necessarily equate to religious stagnation. Certain indigenous deities may have only taken root in specific areas after the Roman conquest. The case of *Ataecina* was instructive in respect to this possibility; following Olivares, it was suggested that her cult may only have spread from its discrete worship among the *Turobrigenses* after territorial reorganization brought on by the Roman conquest. Similarly, the character of specific deities could have evolved over time, as was argued to have taken place with *Endovellicus*. The corpus of epigraphic dedications also showed a capacity for trends in deities' cults to spread both from town to country and across the countryside, as in the case of *Bellona* and the otherwise unattested *Jupiter Repulsor* and *Jupiter Solutorius*. This chapter thus confirmed that the religious landscape of rural Lusitania was itself dynamic, a conclusion also reached through analysis of the chronologies of the cult spaces. A considerable freedom in the religious expression of these people is apparent not only in the corpus of deities they worshipped – which differed significantly from that of the urban realm – but also evident in the unique and hybrid character of the various cult sites, themselves.

The last chapter of this thesis, *Gifts for the gods*, was less interested in contextualizing cult than describing its physical appearance. It uncovered a wide array of votive practices that spoke to heterogeneity across the province; difference was especially clear between northern Lusitania where inscribed stones and animal sacrifices appear to have been the primary gifts left to the gods, and the south of the province where a broader range of votive offerings has been uncovered. No doubt, the variant pre-Roman inheritance of southern to northern Lusitania is the reason for this contrast. This chapter also argued against the conclusion that the scant coins found in springs of this province were definitely votive offerings. It highlighted, instead, the corpus of votive altars from the Lusitanian countryside as this province's most pervasive type of offering. An imbalance between a rich epigraphic register of votive dedications to a thinly evidenced collection of actual cult sites suggested that

atypical cult space, perhaps inside domestic structures, industrial installations, or in the open air, was being sacralized by the addition of altar stones or rock inscriptions.

The chapters of this thesis, therefore, disclose a patchwork of conclusions concerning the nature of Lusitanian countryside worship. Through these individual deductions, a few broader motifs become clear; these reappear throughout the thesis and both characterize this region and, occasionally, set it apart from other provinces of the empire. Firstly, as has been reiterated often in this text, the evidence illustrates that during the Roman Imperial period a collection of small-scale, hybrid cult spaces existed in this province. These were spread thinly across the province and are notably scarcer than vestiges of rural cult in certain other Roman ambits. For instance, with the possible exception of the anomalous sanctuary of Endovellicus, there were no large-scale rural sanctuaries of the type found elsewhere in the Empire, often replete with theatres and lodgings. The low quantity of evidence for Lusitanian rural worship reflects a combination of factors: the low economic status of the majority of the inhabitants of this rural environment; the low density of the population in this province; and, the ephemeral character of the cult activity. In addition, a lack of excavation and survey, and a strong tendency towards re-use of construction elements in this region, are contributing factors.

Besides the relative low frequency of cult spaces and religious monuments in this province, another identifiable motif that appeared throughout this thesis is hybridity. Dias and Gaspar have duly noted that the diverse nature of votive epigraphy from Lusitania proves that this province did not achieve cultural unity during the Roman episode (2007:9); the cult sites of rural Lusitania indicate the same. Differences in physical cult edifices and votive material – e.g. a supposed ‘temple à cour’ at Santana do Campo, a temple with bi-level podium platforms at Nossa Sr<sup>a</sup>. das Cabeças, the distinct altars with holes for goat figurines at Sta. Lucía – argue that there was a significant amount of freedom in the local interpretation of cult space. No extensive trends in the architecture of religious spaces, such as the numerous Romano-Celtic temples that spread across much of the western Empire, existed here. Contrasts in the appearance of cult, votive offerings, and deities worshipped, were most stark between northern and southern halves of the province,

undoubtedly reflecting separate cultural backgrounds as well as variable levels of urbanization and interaction between municipia and coloniae and the rural hinterland.

A third and final thread interwoven throughout this thesis was that of dynamism in the rural realm. This is not to contradict the generally acknowledged fact that the rural environment is – in any era or location – more conservative than the urban realm. There is no reason to doubt a significant degree of tenacity in the beliefs of the country-folk of Lusitania. However, these rural inhabitants were not opposed to adopting new gods or their conqueror's manners of worshipping. The cult spaces that they erected held a dialogue with the burgeoning rural territorial infrastructure of the Roman period, in a number of ways. The catchment area of a specific deity's worship or of certain cult spaces could have fluctuated and expanded, governed by regional interaction and specific connections between certain civitates and their hinterland (e.g. the case of Turgalium and the cult of Bellona).

Thus, the cult spaces of this province verify that the country-folk were intertwined in the physical and spiritual changes that accompanied the Roman Imperial period. Even though these sites belong to the rural and more conservative realm, they are still a barometer of the dynamics of this period. Perhaps it is time, therefore, to diverge from the tendency to see indigenous cult spaces of this region, primarily, as an imprint of the pre-Roman religious landscape. Rather, the evidence demonstrates that more than a reflection of what came before this religious activity is a valuable lens to understanding the Roman Imperial period of which it was a part. Finally, this study has illustrated that even the thinly evidenced cult activity of rural Lusitania can be contextualized, both adding to and complementing the numerous epigraphic studies of religion of this province.